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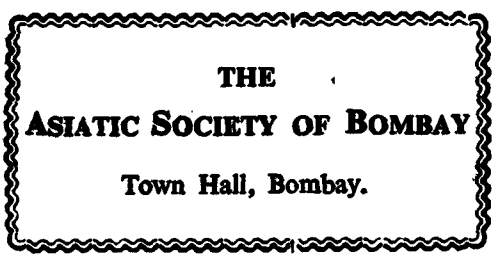

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on 15 October, 2018

ARAKAN

PAST—PRESENT—FUTURE

ARAKAN

PAST—PRESENT—FUTURE

A RÉSUMÉ OF

TWO CAMPAIGNS FOR ITS DEVELOPMENT

58538
a c.

BY

JOHN OGILVY HAY, J.P.

(OLD ARAKAN)

FORMERLY HONORARY MAGISTRATE OF THE TOWN OF AKYAB;
AUTHOR OF
'INDO-BURMAH-CHINA RAILWAY CONNECTIONS,
A PRESSING NECESSITY'

WITH MAP

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON
MDCCCXCII

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THROUGH RUSSIAN CENTRAL ASIA

Dedicated

WITH THE HIGHEST CONSIDERATION,

BUT WITHOUT PERMISSION,

TO

THE MOST HONOURABLE

THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, K.G.,

HER MAJESTY'S PRIME MINISTER AND PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA IN 1874 DURING THE FIRST CAMPAIGN;

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

VISCOUNT CROSS, G.C.B.,

HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA DURING THE SECOND CAMPAIGN;

AND TO

HIS EXCELLENCY THE MOST HONOURABLE

THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE, G.C.S.I.,

VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA;

in the confident hope that, by their Lordships' combined action, Arakan will be raised from its present inert and undeveloped condition to a state of progressive prosperity, as the great highway of intercourse between India and Indo-China, and its port, AKYAB, become, as it deserves to be, a great EMPORIUM, and the THIRD GREAT SHIPPING PORT of our INDIAN EMPIRE.

OLD ARAKAN.

LONDON, *May* 1892.

To the UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA, India Office, Whitehall, S.W.

No. 20. LONDON, *9th March* 1892.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of Mr Secretary Walpole's letter, P.W. 218, of 23d February 1892, for which I am obliged. It informed me that my last letters had been transmitted to the Government of India.

There being a break in my correspondence with his lordship the Secretary of State for India on the subject of railway communications in Burmah, pending the consideration of the matter by the Government of India, to whom, as I am informed, his lordship has submitted it; and feeling my interest in the development of Burmah, and especially of the Arakan division of that province, unabated,—I beg respectfully to ask the permission and sanction of his lordship the Secretary of State for India to the publication of the correspondence I have had the honour to hold with his lordship during the last three years.

The capabilities of the port of Akyab in Arakan as a great shipping port for the trade of Eastern Bengal and Burmah do not seem yet to be appreciated either by the Government or the public; and it is my desire, before my work is over, to bring these again more prominently to notice by a reprint of the most salient points of the subject, stated in correspondence and journals, during the last thirty years in which I have advocated its claims to consideration, but hitherto the advantages of the port have not been availed of to the extent they undoubtedly deserve.

I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servant,

J. OGILVY HAY.

Reply.

P.W. 429. INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S.W.,
23*d March* 1892.

SIR,—In reply to your letter, dated 9th March 1892, I am desired to say that the publication by you of the correspondence which has passed between yourself and this Office in respect to your suggestions for railway extension in Burmah is a matter for your own discretion, with which this Office has no desire to interfere.—I am, sir, &c.

GEORGE N. CURZON.

J. OGILVY HAY, Esq.

RESPONSIBILITY.

From the preceding it will be seen the ONUS of the following publication has been thrown on me.

I ACCEPT IT, in the confident belief that it will ultimately be approved of, not only by the authorities at the India Office, but by the Government of India, as well as by the public interested in our great Eastern possession, and tend to the early development of an important part of that Empire.

JOHN OGILVY HAY.

ARAKAN

PAST

A KINGDOM—CONQUERED—NEGLECTED

PRESENT

IN STATU QUO—UNDEVELOPED

FUTURE

JUBILANT!—EXCELSIOR!!—EXCELSIOR!!!

L'ENVOI.

What follows is chiefly summarised from official documents—say from 'Annual Administration Reports of Burmah,' 'Report on the Progress of Arakan from 1826 to 1875,' 'Adamson's Settlement Reports on Arakan,' 'Fytche's Burmah, Past and Present,' and from personal local knowledge.

THE object of the present publication is, *once again*, to bring to notice the state of the province of Arakan, and the capabilities of the port of Akyab, as a great outlet for the trade of Eastern Bengal and Burmah. To those acquainted with the position of matters, it seems not only unaccountable, but lamentable, to think that the state of the country has not long ere this been realised, and the advantages of the port appreciated, by the Government and the public; and hence my desire, ONCE AGAIN, to bring these more prominently to notice, by a reprint of the most salient points of the subject as stated in correspondence and journals during the last thirty years.

Arakan, a division of our present province of Burmah, came into our possession after the first Burmese war, having, along with Assam and Tenasserim, been ceded to us under the Treaty of Yandaboo, dated 24th February 1826; so that it has been in our possession sixty-six years. Assam is now about to get its due by the construction of the "Assam-Bengal Railway" just launched, and the ice now being broken, it is to be hoped Arakan's better days will soon follow.

Arakan is a narrow strip of land on the east side of the Bay of Bengal, extending on the sea-coast from the river Naaf, the southern frontier of Chittagong, a division of the Presidency of

Bengal, in about lat. 21° N., and in the hill tracts from about lat. 22.30° N., southwards towards Pagoda Point, to about lat. 17° or 16° N. It is separated from Burmah on the east by the watershed of the Yoma-toung range of mountains, in breadth varying from fifty to a hundred miles, but the exact boundary yet undefined! It embraces an area of about 18,529 square miles. "That Arakan was once a great kingdom is abundantly testified by history; of the conquest by the Arakanese of a part of Bengal (the present division of Chittagong, Dacca, and Moorshedabad being also ancient dependencies of Arakan) we have creditable historical evidence. At Dacca are still to be found the remains of a Buddhist *Zedi* or *Pagoda*, which can only be attributed to this fact. The name 'Tsit-ta goung,' of which Chittagong is a corruption, is Burmese, and descendants of people of Tipperah, brought hence from that country, still survive." In their turn the Arakanese were conquered by the Burmese in 1783-86, during the reign of Bhodau Phra, who took the river Naaf as the boundary between Bengal and Burmah; but the "haughty and overbearing" conduct of his grandson and successor, Phagyi-dau, laying claim to a small island, named Shahpuri, on the British side of the Naaf, and subsequently threatening to invade British territory, and take possession of the districts, already named "as ancient dependencies of Arakan," led to the war of 1824, resulting in the country being ceded to us as aforesaid, by the Treaty of Yandaboo.

It is well known that when Arakan and Tenasserim came into our possession they were so depopulated, and so unproductive, that it was seriously deliberated whether they should not be restored to Burmah. In Arakan the population was estimated at about 100,000 souls. These were indigenous inhabitants; Tenasserim was estimated to have about 70,000. In 1855 the population of Arakan had increased to about 366,310, and Tenasserim to about 213,692. This vast increase was chiefly due to immigration from provinces under Burmese Government—notably from Pegu—to their old provinces now under British rule,—giving unequivocal testimony in favour of British Government and institutions.[1] (This was further shown in the case of Pegu, taken from the Burmese in 1853, the population, estimated in 1855 at 700,000, having risen in

[1] Fytche, vol. i. pp. 256, 257.

1875 to 1,750,000! principally from immigration from native Burmese territory.)

On our occupation of Pegu in 1853 the exodus to Arakan was arrested, and the increase, which, in the first twenty years under our Government, was from 100,000 to 366,310, in the next twenty years only advanced to 492,073—that is, an increase of 266,310 in the first period, and only 125,763 in the second.

The following figures will show, in a concise form, the progress of the country, as well as regards population as cultivation and revenue; while it must be noted that this progress in all departments has entirely proceeded from the rice-trade,[1] which received a great impetus at the time of the Irish famine, and, by natural development, without any special or fostering care on the part of Government—such as might have been induced by roads or irrigation-works—progressed and extended to our new possession of Pegu, till it has now become the backbone of the revenue of Burmah.

It may be said this rice-trade was entirely due to the *personal* and "indefatigable zeal of the late Sir Archibald Bogle."

Season.	Population.	Acreage under cultivation.	Gross revenue.
1829-1830	121,288	66,234	Rs. 377,949
1849-1850	313,170½	235,959	825,262
1855, after our occupation of Pegu	366,310	...	...
1869-1870	447,957	389,299	1,755,017
1889-1890	587,518	459,627	1,809,997

The gross revenue of 1890-91 was Rs. 1,913,930, and the total cost of officials and police of all kinds, Rs. 696,254, leaving a net revenue of Rs. 1,217,676. The preceding year the cost of establishment was Rs. 619,362, leaving a net revenue of Rs. 1,190,635, and for many previous years there had been a large surplus. What, it may be asked, has been expended on the country for its improvement or development in any way? True, the compiler of the latter part of "The Report on the Progress of Arakan under British Rule, from 1826 to 1875," says: "There remains little more to be said regarding the progress of the Arakan division. It will be observed that the

[1] *Vide* p. 11.

population, trade, and cultivation of the land have considerably increased during the decennial period reviewed, and this division may be fairly considered to have made considerable progress in all points affecting its welfare and its administration. The education of the people is being pushed forward, and law and justice are properly applied. As regards opening out communications with other countries,—those adjacent being Chittagong, Upper Burmah, and the country north of the hill tracts occupied by savage tribes such as the Looshais and others,—much cannot be said to have been done in the way of roads; but in a country like this, intersected with numerous creeks and large rivers, with a sparse population, first-class roads must be a work of time, but the road from Chittagong into this division is well open, and numerous coolies during the season come here for work. As regards the trade of this division, the staple of which is rice, much further extension cannot be expected, unless the prices ruling at home should rise higher than they have done for the last two years. It will be a serious thing for this division when there is less demand for rice, as the cultivation of paddy is the main cultivation of the country, and the principal source from which the land revenue is derived." In another part of the same report it is written: "Beyond the island of Akyab the tidal creeks are so numerous, and interlace one another to such an extent, that water forms at once the readiest and cheapest mode of transit. A fair-weather road has been completed, with bridges between Mengbya and Myohoung, at a cost of Rs. 38,859. Another road from Chittagong to Akyab is in course of construction. Of the distance between Moungdoo to the Myoo river (about fifty miles), six miles of the road have been completed, and from this side of the Myoo to the town of Akyab the road has been finished, bridged, and metalled." This is the road which, in the preceding quotation, is said to be "well open," and this last part, which is said to have been "finished," &c., is in length under five miles. This Chittagong road is the road which Lord Dalhousie ordered to be made after the Burmese war of 1852-53, but which, after lakhs of rupees had been expended on it, was abandoned, and the tract has now returned to its pristine jungle state, the result of bygone financial economy! It is surprising how an officer, reporting on his division, if he knew its real

condition, could write as above, unless on the principle of making the

"Worse appear the better [reason] cause."[1]

Again, a successor in office, writing of Arakan, says: "You must not expect me to help in urging the construction of a railway from Akyab to Burmah. I do not consider Arakan requires a railway." It is hardly to be credited that an officer, in such a position, could in this enlightened nineteenth century have expressed such an opinion! It can only be attributed to his having suffered from the enervating effects of the climate and his surroundings, and so have become as benighted as the country in which he exercised authority, as otherwise it might have been expected his influence would have been used for its advancement.

Now, how do these reports and opinions coincide with the following from officers of higher and equal positions? And to begin with, let us quote from General Fytche, who, in a review of his administration as Chief Commissioner from 1867 to 1871 when he retired, thus wrote: "The backward state of our lines of communication is a matter of great regret to me. Two of the divisions of the province [Arakan and Tenasserim] we have held for forty-five years, and the third [Pegu] for eighteen years. In Arakan *there is not one road*, with the exception of the incomplete Dacca and Chittagong road." This is the road before alluded to, and which a Deputy Commissioner subsequently reported had returned to its primeval state.

Next, let us take "Adamson's Settlement Report of the Akyab District for 1885-86," where we find the Commissioner of the division thus delivering himself: "The state of communication appears to be very incomplete and unsatisfactory in the Akyab district. I can hardly understand, however, notwithstanding imperfect communication, that circles within a few miles of Akyab have never been visited by district officers." This can easily be explained. The means of communication being confined to the "water-ways," with no cross or other roads in the country, the officers kept near these, only travelled by them, and could not, except under trying and fatiguing circumstances, visit circles in the interior. This might have suggested to these officers the necessity of the construction of

[1] Milton.

roads or railways to open up the country and encourage agriculture otherwise than the growing of rice; but such was not the opinion of the officer we have already quoted, saying, "Arakan did not require railways"!

The settlement officer, writing himself, says: "We have held Akyab for sixty years, during which time we have taken from the land a comparatively much heavier revenue than from other parts of Burmah, and yet one can travel far and wide through the district without seeing indications of a single rupee ever having been spent for the improvement of the people." And, lastly, let us take a telegram from the 'Times' correspondent, which appeared in that paper of 2d February 1891, to the effect that there was not forty miles of road in the district.

Once more, the deceased Commissioner who prepared the first part of "The Report, 1826-75," wrote: "We should give a very incomplete view of the progress of Arakan during our forty-three years' rule if we did not show what English education, and, above all, what the civilisation which the Anglo-Saxon is supposed to carry about with him, have done for the people and the country." After a dissertation as "to the merits and benefits of English education," he goes on to say, "Our arts and sciences do not seem to have made a great impression upon the people—that is, as arts and sciences worthy of adoption. True, we have had but indifferent exemplifications of them in Arakan. Government (with all due respect be it said) has done so very little for the improvement of Arakan, that the people have had but scant opportunity of seeing, for instance, what English engineering can do for a country; what the resources of science are for economising labour and annihilating distances; what skilful devices we have of design and construction; how we can improve land; how we can reclaim swamps; how irrigate; in short, how we can build, drain, bridge, multiply the comforts of life, and develop and increase the sources of wealth. The people of Arakan have not seen progress in the improvement of their communications by roads, bridges, or canals; they see a weekly steamer at Akyab, and they are familiar with the wonders of the electric telegraph, but little else that is European in invention or great benefit to society. There is no marked tendency to adopt our habits of living, or our social usages, though 'Young Arakan,' as seen in Akyab, evinces a growing partiality for some

English fabrics as articles of dress—English umbrellas and parasols, walking-sticks, and English (or Cossitollah) shoes."

The same authority further says: "It may not be uninteresting to contrast the Arakan of forty years back with the Arakan of to-day in one important particular—in its fleet!

"In May 1827 there were four gunboats (small of course), two row-boats, two accommodation-boats, a pinnace, and a cutter —ten boats, with 157 men.

"In May 1829, four gun and row boats, with a number of troop flats.

"The returns of 1854 show twelve boats; in 1865-66 the schooner Swift (the last boat) was sold out of the service.

"For some years subsequent to this a Government steamer was allowed to Arakan. Her station was Akyab; but she plied to the southern ports, and not only carried mails, Government passengers, stores, and treasure, but earned private freight, passage-money, and towage. She was taken away in 1867, and her place has never been supplied, not even by a boat; but this is hardly a fact fitting a report on the *progress* of Arakan! The inconvenience now felt from Arakan having nothing in place of all the boats of former days is *very great.* But the real amount and nature of the inconvenience experienced in all branches of the Government service, especially by the Commissioner, who has to visit coast stations nearly 200 miles distant, would of itself fill a long report. It need only be glanced at here, and this, we fear, hopelessly."

"The lighthouse on the Savage Reef—not a very good one as regards light—was first lighted in 1844."

This lighthouse was raised and surmounted by a dioptric light of the first order in 1891. After years of representation, as essential for the safety of the shipping frequenting Akyab, it is stated in the same report that in 1875 "a lighthouse constructed on iron screw piles has been erected, and is now near completion, on a most dangerous shoal of rocks called the Oyster Reef, north-west of the port." This light remained for a few years, but was swept away in a hurricane, with all its staff, in 1884. There has been a temporary light since, but the re-erection of a permanent structure was not begun till season 1889-90, and it is expected it "will be completed before the monsoon of 1892."

It was stated in a letter[1] addressed to the Most Honourable the Marquis of Salisbury, Secretary of State for India, in 1874: "Arakan has long been a very paying dependency of the empire, but on it little or nothing has been spent beyond the cost of its administration. It has been under our Government for about fifty years,[2] has an area of 18,529 square miles, over which it has not twenty miles of common road; its boundaries, not a hundred miles from the headquarters of the Commissioner, unknown, and altogether one of the most neglected, though promising, districts under the Crown." That was eighteen years ago, and the remarks are as applicable now as they were then, as the preceding pages amply set forth, and the information given in them is brought down to the latest administration report of the province, dated Rangoon, 21st December 1891.

Though Arakan cannot rise to be the kingdom it once was, it can, and I hope will, rise, phœnix-like, to a prominent position, and become one of the largest shipping ports in India, and also a great naval station, for which its capacity and situation are eminently adapted.

OLD ARAKAN.

[1] P. 17.

[2] Now sixty-six years.

LONDON, *May* 1892.

A SHORT "IN MEMORIAM" OF

SIR ARCHIBALD BOGLE, KNIGHT,

WHO MAY BE CONSIDERED TO HAVE ESTABLISHED, BY HIS OWN "INDEFATIGABLE ZEAL," THE RICE-TRADE OF BURMAH.

From the 'Arakan News,' July 7, 1870.

A TELEGRAM, dated 20th June, announces the death of Major-General Sir Archibald Bogle, Knight, formerly Commissioner of Arakan, and afterwards of Tenasserim.

The late General obtained his knighthood on the recommendation of Lord Dalhousie, chiefly for his services during the last Burmese war as aide-de-camp to Major-General Godwin, when, during the assault made on the enemy's works round the Shoay Dagon Pagoda, he received a flesh-wound in the thigh. He also materially assisted the expedition by his quickness in bringing timber and other materials from Moulmein for the construction of barracks for the troops in camp at Rangoon.

But Akyab, and indeed all Arakan, owe a lasting debt of gratitude to "King Archibald," as he was well named by the Arakanese. The station of Akyab, on his arrival, was a mere barren, treeless swamp, reeking with malaria, and obtaining the sad renown of being the grave of Europeans. By his wise provision it was laid out, drained, and planted with forest and fruit trees, so that in our time it has become not only healthy, but it yields to very few Indian stations in picturesque beauty. But this is not all; the rice-trade of Arakan, and from it that of all British Burmah, owes its origin to the indefatigable zeal of Sir Archibald Bogle, who by reports and letters addressed to

the leading firms not only in England but in the chief ports of Europe, attracted to our shores this important commerce, which has so greatly tended to the comfort and civilisation of the whole province.

Many a man not half so great a benefactor to his kind, has had a public monument raised to him; but not only with regard to the reverence in which his memory is still held by the natives after so many years, but also to the vast commerce of Burmah, of which he was the pioneer, it might well be said of him—

"Exegi monumentum ære perennius."

FIRST CAMPAIGN

FOR

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ARAKAN

FIRST CAMPAIGN.

"FURTHER INDIA."

From the 'Times,' October 2, 1875.

A MAP, prepared under the direction of Mr John Ogilvy Hay, F.R.G.S., has just been published by Mr Stanford, of Charing Cross, "showing the various routes proposed for connecting China with India and Europe through Burmah, and for developing the trade of Eastern Bengal, Burmah, and China." It must not be supposed from this description that the area embraced by the map extends from China to Europe. It includes simply Assam, Pegu, Eastern Bengal, and West Yunnan, or that part of the Indo-Chinese countries in which Englishmen are most directly interested. The scale, 30 miles to the inch, has enabled the engraver to use large letters in printing the names of places, and to represent, without crowding or confusion, a considerable number of the routes followed by recent travellers, or suggested as new lines of commercial intercourse. Among the latter are those proposed by the Indian Government within the British territories in Assam, Eastern Bengal, Arakan, and Pegu, and those proposed in the same district and countries further east by Mr Hay, Mr St John, Mr Blakestone, Captain Sprye, and others. The map supplies information, not readily accessible elsewhere, about schemes concerning which much has been recently written in the English newspapers. It would, however, be incomplete without an additional map showing the

position of those fertile regions of Siam, Tonquin, and Southern China, to which many of the routes are supposed to lead.

From the 'Times,' October 9, 1875.

J. O. H. writes to us: Referring to and thanking you for your remarks under the above heading in the 'Times' of the 2d inst., I think it desirable to state the object in view in the issue of the map alluded to. Believing in the certainty of the opening up of the trade route to Western China, *vid* Mandalay and Bhamo,[1] I thought it advisable to show clearly the shortest route from Mandalay, the capital of Burmah proper, to the sea-coast, and this is done by the line from Mandalay to Akyab. Not only is this the shortest line, but it terminates in a port not to be surpassed in the Bay of Bengal, and suitable for any amount of shipping. Again, considering the almost insurmountable difficulties in the way of extending the Eastern Bengal Railway across the Delta of the Ganges, as shown by the repeated damage to that line, and latterly the destruction of the station at Goalanda,[2] it appears that there is little prospect of seeing the rich tea districts of Assam and Cachar reached by rail from that side, and that, therefore, endeavours should be made to open up the whole of Eastern Bengal to the eastward of the Brahmapootra by a system of railways also terminating at the port of Akyab.[3] This is shown by the line from Gowhatty in Assam, to Akyab, such being taken as a trunk line, and supplied with feeders as found necessary on either side. These two lines, combined with an extension on to the frontier of China, would bring in Chinese labour, and spread population over our fertile, but at present unproductive because unoccupied, lands. As stated in a letter addressed to the Marquis of Salisbury, Secretary of State for India, "it may be a long look for the fulfilment of this idea, but it is one which must be followed out, and the sooner steps are taken in the direction indicated, and encouragement given to private enterprise, the sooner will the fruits be reaped—such fruits being

[1] Until the annexation of Upper Burmah, when it was seen the route through the Shan States was the proper route to Yunnan.—1892.

[2] *Vide* p. 20.

[3] The *raison d'être* of the Assam-Bengal Railway, only just launched in this year, 1892.

increase of revenue, and *the spread of what should be the civilising influences of our rule.*" The preceding will explain the reason for what you consider the incompleteness of the map—want of an addition to show Siam, Tonquin, and Southern China—the object being confined to showing the outlet for trade and population westward from Yunnan.

LETTER to the Most Honourable the MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, Secretary of State for India.

LONDON, 18*th August* 1874.

MY LORD,—Knowing that the subject of the opening up of communication with Western China through British Burmah has on various occasions been brought to your notice, and that you have shown your interest in it, and desire to further the views of the many memorialists who have represented its importance to Government, it would be supererogatory on my part to state it to you as a pressing necessity.

Believing, however, that the prosecution of the route proposed by Captain Sprye, supported by several of the mercantile bodies who have interested themselves in it, and the completion of the survey of which has been lately urged on your Lordship, must be a matter of time, and that, as viewed by the Governor-General, Lord Lawrence, and his Council, it is, looking to the many other wants, in advance of the immediate requirements of the country, I take the liberty of asking respectfully your consideration of the views expressed in letters I have addressed to the President of the Association of Chambers of the United Kingdom, and the Chamber of Commerce of Liverpool, copies of which I beg to hand herewith.

There is no question as to the impetus that would be given to the manufacturing industries of such districts as Halifax and Huddersfield were there easy means of distributing their productions through the vast population of China by a shorter route than now open by the eastern seaboard, and I will not here further allude to that part of the subject, which has been otherwise ably advocated. I would confine myself at present to pointing out the benefit that would be derived by our own provinces.

In almost all the eastern provinces of our Indian empire—*i.e.*,

to the east of the Brahmapootra, viz., Assam, Cachar, Arakan, and the other divisions of British Burmah—thousands of acres of land lie unproductive for want of labour. Many schemes have been put forward for supplying this want; but there is no means that would stimulate the introduction of population so much, or tend so much to civilise and develop the countries in question, as the construction of railways, connecting them with the teeming provinces of Western China.[1] As you are aware, the local Government of British Burmah have for some years urged the construction of a railway from Rangoon northward to the frontier, and it is believed that the King of Burmah would continue the line on to his capital. Hereafter it would doubtless be advanced on towards the borders of China, to take up the trade which is now returning to its old channel *vid* Bhamo, and is being daily developed by the steam companies now running on the Irrawaddy to that frontier town. I further advocate a connection between our province of Arakan and the kingdom of Burmah; such would ultimately be necessary to connect British Burmah with the rest of our Indian dominions, and, extended northwards towards Assam,[2] would be a great means of developing the resources of all the intermediate countries, and spreading population over their fertile but at present unproductive lands. It may be a long look for the fulfilment of this idea, but it is one which must be followed out; and the sooner steps are taken in the direction indicated, and encouragement given to private enterprise, the sooner will the

[1] This letter was written under circumstances which have been completely changed by the taking of Upper Burmah, as it is now seen that *our own* teeming population of Bengal should be sent to Burmah, and for this purpose the shortest land route should be selected for a railway. This route must be the connection it goes on above to suggest, extended *vid* Chittagong to the river Megna. Lord Salisbury's attention was called to this letter in one dated 17th September 1888, at the commencement of the "Second Campaign." Also to Lord Cross, to whom it was again sent on 31st December 1890.

[2] This is being done by the "Assam-Bengal Railway" just launched. Had this been carried out at an earlier date, we might not have had to deplore the Munneepore massacre; and several of the previous and subsequent Lushai raids (raids at this moment in full swing), and consequent expenditure of life and treasure, might have been prevented, and there would have been no necessity for the action of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce as reported in the 'Times' telegram of 15th May 1892 (*vide* p. 210). Calcutta influence has prevented the earlier execution of this work, and the metropolis is now ruing the effects of its own selfishness, both governmental and mercantile.

fruits be reaped—"*such fruits being the increase of revenue, and the spread of what should be the civilising influences of our rule over the savage tribes on our borders.*"

My attention has been given to the subject principally from a desire to further the improvement of the province of Arakan, which has long been a very paying dependency of the empire, but on which little or nothing has been spent beyond the cost of its administration.[1] It has been under our Government for about fifty years, has an area of 18,529 square miles, over which it has not twenty miles[2] of common road; its boundaries, not a hundred miles from the headquarters of the Commissioner, unknown, and altogether one of the most neglected, though promising, districts under the Crown.

Memo., April 1892.—Eighteen years have passed since the above was written, and the province of Arakan remains much as it was, without roads and connection with any of the adjoining districts, and quite undeveloped.

LETTER to the Same.

LONDON, 27*th August* 1874.

In continuation of the letter I had the honour to address to your Lordship dated the 18th inst., I now beg to wait on you with copy of a letter I have this day sent to Sampson S. Lloyd, Esq., M.P., Chairman of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom, showing the increasing trade going on between our province of British Burmah and Upper Burmah, and extending on to China *vid* Bhamo. The Administration Report from which these particulars have been taken, has doubtless reached the India Office, and I need not further allude to it than by respectfully asking your attention to the interesting statistics it gives of the onward progress of our province.

LETTER to the Same.

LONDON, 3*d October* 1874.

I take the liberty of handing for your consideration copy of a letter, under date 18th September, addressed to the President

[1] See remarks of "Settlement Officer," p. 8.

[2] A telegram in the 'Times' of 2d February 1891 confirms this.

of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom. Also memorandum concerning some discrepancies between the original text of letters from General Fytche, Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, as published in Parliamentary Paper 28, 1st December 1867, and the same as reproduced in an appendix attached to a memorial addressed to the First Lord of her Majesty's Treasury, published in Parliamentary Paper 258, 19th June 1873. Further, a memorandum regarding a proposed Association for a survey[1] of a line of country from the port of Akyab to the frontier of Burmah; and I would respectfully ask an expression of your Lordship's opinion of the same, and whether such an association would meet with your countenance.

To J. OGILVY HAY, Esq., London.

INDIA OFFICE, *October* 10, 1874.

SIR,—I am directed by Lord Salisbury to acknowledge, with an expression of his thanks, the receipt of your letter of the 3d instant.—Faithfully yours, HORACE WALPOLE.

EXTRACT from the 'Indian Statesman,' September 12, 1873.

It is evident that the great object of railway extension to the eastward is to link together India and China, and to bring the commerce of the latter country as near as possible to the centres of Indian trade.[2] Proximity to Calcutta and to the trunk lines of our Indian railway system ought to be the leading consideration in determining the point from which an Indo-Chinese Railway should start. The Eastern Bengal Railway is already open to Goalundo,[3] and although the engineering difficulties in the way of carrying it across the Delta are doubtless very great, we do not think they can be insurmountable.[4] The mountainous country lying between Eastern Bengal and Upper Burmah presents obstacles that, we fear, would deter either the Government or private capitalists from entertaining any project for

[1] This has not yet been surveyed, and is still being pressed on the attention of the Indian Government through the Secretary of State for India—1892.

[2] Or to the nearest and best outlet for Europe.

[3] Which still remains the terminus.

[4] Eighteen years of endeavours have not shown a way to overcome them.

throwing a line across it into Upper Burmah. But, if we go further south, we find two points, each possessing advantages for being chosen as the starting-point of a line to the eastward. Chittagong is 280 miles from Mandalay as the crow flies, and Akyab only 240. As a port Akyab is to be preferred to Chittagong, but either of them is near enough to Calcutta to serve the interests of British Indian trade.[1] There is, of course, a range of mountains to be crossed, and as no survey[2] has been made of the passes leading from Arakan to Burmah, it would not be safe to dogmatically assert that the line would be practicable. We have, however, before us the opinions of those who are best acquainted with the Arakan side of the Yoma-Toung chain—officers who have served in the hill tracts—and they evidently are not aware of any difficulties that would surpass the skill of our railway engineers.

Our readers may remember a most flattering account of the mineral resources of the Yau district by Captain Strover, which we epitomised in our columns some months ago. The Yau district lies just behind the Yoma-Toung mountains, and a direct line from Akyab would tap its mineral wealth at once, whereas it would be cut off from the Irrawaddy line by a long stretch of country. For one argument that can be put forth in favour of the line from Rangoon to Mandalay, ten better ones can be advanced on behalf of a line from an Arakan port, always supposing that the Yoma-Toung range is passable; and that, we submit, it is the duty of Government to determine before committing itself to other projects. If we ask for the old trade-routes between India and China—the routes by which we know that a considerable commerce was once carried on between the two countries[3]—we shall find that they lay through Upper Burmah to Assam or the Chittagong country.

[1] Calcutta interests would prefer Chittagong, but for Europe trade Akyab is decidedly the best and most commodious.

[2] No survey has yet been made, but a reconnaissance was made twelve months ago (February to May 1891) by Lieutenant Walker of the Intelligence Department of the Aeng Pass and the Tsawbwas route, by either of which it is believed a railway would be practicable at a comparatively moderate cost.

[3] The route by which the enormous cannon said to be now in front of the king's palace, and the gigantic image of Gaudama, were transferred to Ava from Arakan when it was conquered by the Burmese, supposed to be the Tsawbwas route.

These old routes are the best indicators that we can point to of the natural direction of trade, and if we shut our eyes to the lesson that they teach us, we may very likely learn it when too late. Looked at from a military point of view, a line from Arakan has many arguments in its favour that are altogether wanting in the case of Rangoon. If it were necessary to send troops with despatch into Upper Burmah, it would be a question of almost hours by the Arakan route, instead of days by the Irrawaddy; and there is always sufficient means of carriage on the Burmah river to convey the local garrison to the king's country. We merely mention this to show how complete is the case for an Arakan line, with no desire to forebode evil to his Majesty of the Golden Foot. All that the British Chambers of Commerce care for is, that the trade of Western China should be attracted to some port whence it can be shipped to Europe. . . . The time has now come when the subject ought to be fully discussed and something definite determined upon. Peace reigns, after years of warfare, from the frontiers of India to those of China, and the commerce which has been repressed by the Panthay rebellion must now be panting[1] for an outlet. . . .

EXTRACT from LETTER addressed to the Secretary to the Chamber of Commerce of Liverpool, 27th July 1874.

All friends of Burmah interested in the development of its resources must hail with gratification the advocacy which this line of railway (Rangoon and Prome) has received at the hands of the present Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, the Hon. Ashley Eden, C.S.I., and support by every means its completion . . . It has been urged that with this magnificent water communication (the river Irrawaddy) there is no present necessity for the railway. The expenditure on it might be laid out to more advantage in opening out other parts of the country at present without any means whatever of inland transit—*vide* the province of Arakan, which came into our

[1] It *has* panted now for eighteen years, and is likely to pant many more unless there is shortly more vigour in our movements, in respect of railway work in Burmah, to give this convenience for trade.

possession after the Burmese war of 1824-26, fifty years ago, and has not now TWENTY miles of even common road in the whole province, and, as remarked further on, we know nothing of our boundary not one hundred miles from the headquarters of the Commissioner of the province; but if Government see fit to give this additional facility to commerce, and it is not allowed to interfere with other work in other directions for the development of the province, why cavil at it? it is only furthering these facilities earlier than actually required. The Rangoon-Prome Railway will serve a double purpose: as a commencement of railway communication between Burmah and India, thereby, ultimately, China with India, and forming part of a great system which must some day be carried out to connect England with China. When completed to China, it will bring in population to our under-peopled districts of Burmah, and, with the connection on towards India, lead such on to the tea-producing districts of Arakan, Chittagong, Cachar, and Assam,—all crying out for labourers. The line from Mandalay by the city of Pagan in Burmah proper, on towards the Arakan frontier, would pass through rich coal and iron fields. To work the latter, a complete plant of all necessary machinery and appliances has already gone out from this country to the King of Burmah for works to be established at Sagain, a short distance below Mandalay.[1] Here he contemplates preparing the rails to be hereafter used in constructing the necessary lines to develop his country, rich in all minerals, and with soil and climate adapted to almost all products of the earth.

My object in at present addressing your influential Chamber is in view of the approaching meeting of the Associated Chambers at Newcastle in September next, that, should the subject be brought forward, as it doubtless will be, the present bearing of the question may be fairly shown.

As regards the opening of a trade-route to Western China, the Chambers of Commerce of Huddersfield and Halifax and other manufacturing districts, have taken an active part in agitating the question, with the view of giving a new and undeveloped outlet for their productions, which, there is no doubt, it would do. In drawing the attention of your Chamber to it, I

[1] Never erected, but left to rust till this present day.

would do so with the view of placing before you a PORT, to which to direct your shipping, leading to a large outward trade, with the prospect of corresponding homeward employment. I refer to the port of AKYAB, which must be well known to all Liverpool shipowners as the nucleus from which all the large yearly increasing rice-trade of Burmah originally sprang, a trade which for the last twenty years has given extensive employment to the shipping of Liverpool. In comparing the distance between Mandalay and Rangoon, and Mandalay and Akyab, it will be at once apparent that the latter is the shorter; besides which, there is no question that in many ways Akyab has the advantage over Rangoon as a desirable *port* for shipping. In olden times the great bugbear to Akyab, in the eyes of shipowners and underwriters, was the "Oyster Reef," against which shipmasters had to keep a bright look-out. Now, thanks to the executive of British Burmah, under the direction of the Chief Commissioner, Sir Arthur P. Phayre, K.C.S.I., some years ago an extensive system of coast-lights was inaugurated, including a first-class light on the "Oyster," which is now in course of construction, and will be of inestimable benefit, not only to the shipping resorting to Akyab, but to Calcutta, and all the head of the Bay of Bengal. Again, Akyab is on the very sea-coast. The harbour in some parts is five miles broad, being the estuary of the Arakan river. Against this, there is Rangoon, situated not only at the head of the Gulf of Martaban, a tedious sea to get up, except for steamers, but also about thirty miles up a river, accompanied, of course, by the consequent dangers of river navigation.

The latest move with regard to the opening up of this western route to China is the instructions which the present Secretary of State for India, the Marquis of Salisbury, is understood to have sent to India to prosecute the survey of the route to Kiang Hung. . . .

Without any desire to oppose this, but believing that Government will only do one thing at a time in this direction, I would say that to complete the survey of the "Sprye route" would, in my humble opinion, be at the present moment money thrown away, and with this opinion I would earnestly urge on your Chamber, and also on all the Chambers feeling an interest in the subject, the necessity of memorialising Government to sus-

pend its prosecution *for the present.* It is a survey of not less than 500 miles, and would, of course, involve a large expenditure of money. If a survey is to be made—and of course such is required—I would with the same earnestness call on your Chamber and others to promote the shorter survey from the port of Akyab to the frontier of our own province of Arakan and Burmah proper.[1] This is not a distance of 100 miles; it would be followed up by the laying down of a line on to Mandalay, passing, as I have before remarked, through rich coal and iron districts, and showing an outlet for the produce of China and Burmah, and an inlet for English manufactures, not two-thirds of the distance between Mandalay and Rangoon. Against my proposal it is urged that the range of the Yoma Hills, between Arakan and Burmah, offers a formidable obstacle. This is mere assertion, as although Arakan has been under British rule for half a century, the country is as yet a *terra incognita* to us; it has never been explored, while against this has to be urged that there are *passes* in the range through which the Burmese armies formerly came for the conquering of Arakan, and by which communication and trade have been carried on between Upper Burmah and Arakan. Engineering skill can overcome all such obstacles, and above all, though the line may be at first expensive, it would soon be recouped by the shorter length for traffic.

I have endeavoured cursorily, though, I fear, at too great length, to bring this view of the matter before you, and if received favourably by your members, would have much pleasure in entering more fully into it, feeling assured that, if carried out, the shipping of your port and the interests of the manufacturing districts would be promoted to an incalculable extent, and that at an earlier date than by waiting for the protracted survey and construction of the "Sprye route." I come to this conclusion, and bring to bear upon the subject local experience extending over a period of twenty years, during which time I have been connected with the country by business, and during a large part of that time by residence in it. . . .

P.S.—Since writing the foregoing, I have been given to understand that your Chamber is not in connection with "The

[1] Not yet done, 1892.

Associated Chambers of Commerce." I therefore purpose forwarding a copy of this letter to the President of that body.

Liverpool Chamber of Commerce.

The Council of this Chamber held a meeting on the 6th October (1874), at which several important questions were discussed. . . .

Letters were also referred to from Mr J. Ogilvy Hay, dated 5th and 31st August, enclosing copies of letters addressed to the Chamber, to the Marquis of Salisbury, and to the Association of Chambers of Commerce, recommending that Government should be asked to suspend the prosecution of the survey of the Sprye route for the present, on the plea of the altered circumstances of our position in Burmah, and the consideration of the local Government that our provinces would be more developed by taking the route from Rangoon *vid* Prome and Mandalay; while at the same time a route would be opened to China equally as good as the Sprye route, and one by which there would be more chance of the Chinese labourers coming down into our provinces crying out for labour; that the steamers on the Irrawaddy are already directing trade in this course, and that it has only to be fostered and encouraged; that more immediate benefit would be derived by doing so than by waiting for the exploration of the Sprye route, by which at present there is no trade whatever.

The committee had resolved to recommend that Mr Hay be thanked for his interesting and valuable communication, and informed that in supporting the survey so long promoted by Captain Sprye, they did not consider that the two schemes were necessarily antagonistic, and that the Chamber was desirous that, after considering all the suggestions made by the promoters of the various routes connecting the interior provinces of Burmah and China with the coast, the Government should select the best route.

EXTRACT from LETTER to SAMPSON S. LLOYD, Esq., M.P., Chairman of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom.

LONDON, *4th Aug.* 1874.

Referring to the communication I had with you a short time since regarding the trade-routes to Western China, I beg to wait on you with copy of a letter which I have addressed to the Chamber of Commerce of Liverpool on the subject. I have addressed that Chamber, having placed my views first before it, believing at the time it was in connection with your Association. Now, understanding that such is not the case, I would ask you to be so good as receive this letter as equally addressed to the associated body over which you preside.

[*Here follow some remarks on the trade-routes.*]

I take the liberty of asking if you will be so good as circulate the present communication among the Chambers forming your Association, with the view of having the subject before your annual meeting at Newcastle next month; and should it be desired, I shall at all times be most ready to continue communicating with you regarding it, as I have placed it before the Liverpool Chamber in connection with the further development of the magnificent port of Akyab, one certain to prove of incalculable benefit to the manufacturing and shipping interests of the kingdom.

EXTRACT from LETTER to —— ——, Member of the Halifax Chamber of Commerce.

LONDON, *26th June* 1874.

I would beg to apologise for not sooner acknowledging your obliging letter of 17th inst., and to thank you for your Chamber's report, received at same time.

. . . . . .

At present it is said the Government intend to do all the railways themselves; but this is impossible, unless they neglect some parts of the country,[1] and will be a sort of dog-in-the-manger way of proceeding. There was a remark very pertinent to this in Mr Disraeli's speech at the dinner two nights ago.

[1] This is verified by the state of the country at the present day—1892.

He said, "We are opposed to doing that for the people which they can do for themselves." Has it been put in their power to do anything?

POSTSCRIPT to a LETTER addressed to LORD SANDON, M.P. for Liverpool.

LONDON, 18*th August* 1874.

Since writing the foregoing, I have thought it well to accompany the enclosures with a letter addressed to the Secretary of State. I would add that during the Lushai expedition our officers on the northern frontier of Arakan had frequent opportunities of communicating with the wild tribes in their neighbourhood, and one or two leading men came down to the station of Akyab, where they expressed themselves to the clergyman of the place as very desirous that the means of education should be extended to them. They are on the whole a very tractable people, and there is a strong belief that more good would have been done towards civilising them had the money spent on the futile Lushai military expedition been laid out by the pioneer navvy in the construction of a railway, which would have established an influence over them which could never be expected from the sword.

To the PRESIDENT of the Chamber of Commerce of Hull.

LONDON, 3*d Sept.* 1874.

I have forwarded to you separately, and now again place before you, some letters which I have addressed to the Secretary of State for India, the Chairman of the A. C. C., and the Liverpool Chamber, on the subject of communication with Western China through Burmah.

Much delay has taken place, principally, I think, because the local Government were averse to commit themselves or the Home Government to an uncertain scheme while there was a prospect of a more feasible route being developed. That this is now being done I think is apparent; and should the views I have expressed be concurred in by your Chamber, I would ask your cordial co-operation in urging the Government to give, not pecuniary aid, but moral support in furtherance of the short

survey of country between the port of Akyab and the frontier of Upper Burmah, as the commencement of the future great highway to China. The port of Akyab is the finest port in the Bay of Bengal, and, with the trade that may be expected from China and Burmah by the line of railway indicated, would become a great resort for shipping, and should be encouraged by all interested in the mercantile marine of this country.

Commending the matter to the early attention of your Chamber in view of the meeting of the A. C. C. at Newcastle on the 22d, I am, &c.

Hull Chamber of Commerce.

A meeting of the directors of the Chamber was held on the 4th September, Alderman Seaton, president, in the chair.

The chief subjects which occupied the meeting were the autumnal meeting of the Associated Chambers at Newcastle on the 22d instant, the incorporation of the Chamber, and the important question of the opening up of the west of China by two routes,—one proposed by Captain Sprye and one by Mr J. O. Hay, F.R.G.S. Letters were read from both gentlemen advocating their particular views, and strongly urging the Chamber to adopt them; but the feeling of the meeting was to leave the question in the hands of the deputation representing the Chamber at the Newcastle meeting.

ARTICLES FROM THE 'ARAKAN NEWS,' 1876-77, AS TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF ARAKAN, BY THE CONSTRUCTION OF RAILWAYS AND THE FORMATION OF A LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORSHIP OF OUR TRANS-GANGETIC PROVINCES.

NECESSARY MEANS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A COUNTRY.

'Arakan News,' 4th November 1876.

IN a late issue we drew attention to Sir A. Cotton's advocacy for the development of the resources of India. In doing so, we certainly did not go into his views as regards canals in opposition to railways, but said that "what would be advantageous for one district would not suit in another." We felt sure there were advocates for railways who would come forward to combat his strong views, and we find such in Mr R. W. Crawford, chairman of the East India Railway Company, who, in a very moderate letter addressed to the 'Times,' gives Sir Arthur a very complete rejoinder. There is no doubt that canals are of most essential service in (to use the hackneyed phrase) "developing the resources of a country." They are useful both for irrigation and locomotion, and for local transport purposes; but they can never do the amount of work for such a large country as India that railways can.

We need not speak of canal work here, as we have plenty of natural channels, known in the vulgar tongue as creeks. This term must not be understood as it is usually applied to creeks on the sea-coast. Our creeks are mostly inland, and may be looked on as *natural canals* connecting different rivers. At one time it was said that the "*water-ways were the highways of Burmah.*" We would like to ask what they have done for

Arakan during the last twenty years? Of course all the produce of the country has been brought to market by water, and such it will continue to be, were we to be content with the country remaining *in statu quo*, as it has done for the last quarter of a century. "PROGRESS" is now the watchword of the world, and we are only laggards in the race, because our Government chooses to neglect us, and ignores our wants and just claims upon it. No one—not even the strongest supporter of the illiberality and injustice of the Government—can gainsay the fact that we require *roads* to develop this country—means of communicating with districts and countries away from our limited local rivers and creeks; and those who go a little further say, Yes, let *roads* be made. But we go further, and we think we have justice and reason on our side when we say, We must have RAILWAYS. True, these are more expensive than common roads; but how, we would ask, about the effect they would have in furthering more rapidly the settlement and development of the country? And this we want, after so many years of stagnation, to be carried vigorously on. That the means should be forthcoming, we have no hesitation in saying that the Government hold in the Imperial Treasury (or should hold, but unfortunately it has been otherwise used) a very large sum at the credit of the Arakan division, having been for at least twenty years drawing a very large surplus revenue from the country without expending one farthing on it. It is now yielding a clear surplus of about twenty lakhs a-year; and at least a moiety of this, and a moiety of former years' accumulations, should be at once devoted to railway works in this district. Men of parsimonious views would probably throw this opinion to the winds; but could they only be brought to look ahead a little, we feel confident they would not only see a good return coming from the outlay that might now be grudgingly given, but gradually, as in the case of the East India Railway, the original outlay, in the shape of the much-abused "heavy drag of loss by guaranteed interest," being returned. Mr Crawford's letter, which we give *in extenso*, confirms a point which we have long contended for, that the outcry against the guaranteed railway system as being a loss and a drag on the country has been entirely chimerical, and promoted by self-opinionativeness, selfishness, and presumptuous desire of power. We may admit

that the influences which changed the policy of the Government from the guaranteed system to the State railway system were the result of cleverness and dogmatic will; but the result, we think, is seen that the views thus promoted have been retrograding, and we may almost say dishonest, as regards the development and the interest of the country.

We would here refer to an extract we take from the 'Statesman,' showing the change of views expressed by Mr Maclean, formerly of the 'Bombay Gazette,' and expressing regret that such change had not appeared at an earlier date. No doubt the opposition shown by such an organ as the 'Gazette' did much to retard the quick development of the Dalhousie enlightened railway policy for the progress of the country, and it is with regret that all those truly interested in the country see that at the present day there are powerful influences still at work retarding progress.

We cannot too often repeat the old story: "Arakan has been fifty years under the British flag, and has not fifty miles of common road, while its present clear surplus revenue is twenty lakhs per annum." Seeing this, lost time must be made up for, and more expedition made in the means to this end. Railways the length and the breadth of the country alone can accomplish this. We consequently return to our war-cry, GIVE, GIVE US RAILWAYS—nothing more than we are entitled to, seeing we can pay for them ourselves out of the enormous sum at credit with our bankers (the Government), and our large, and at present slowly increasing revenue, which would by such means be enormously augmented.

[Note.—*Communications and the country in general remain* in statu quo *in the year 1892!*]

UNION OF ARAKAN AND CHITTAGONG.

This was of course written long before we took Upper Burmah. Now there might be a much larger amalgamation, embracing all our provinces from the Brahmapootra to the Salween.

'Arakan News,' August 4, 1877.

On several occasions, about twelve months ago, we brought forward the question of the severance of Arakan from Burmah

and its union with Chittagong; considering that "Arakan has no affinity or sympathy with Pegu," and requiring population, which Chittagong has in abundance and to spare, we expressed the opinion "that the separation of Arakan from Pegu and its union with Chittagong would be in the interest of all concerned." We are glad to find this view taken up by the 'Statesman.'

In the 'Friend of India and Statesman' of 24th ultimo, we see mention made of Mr Eden's desire to meet Mr Lowis, the Commissioner of Chittagong, at Tipperah, in the hope that the true cause of the misunderstanding that has for some time existed between the people of Chittagong and their local executive might by this interview be laid bare. Several transfers and other administrative measures which have been lately introduced into Chittagong seem to have given great dissatisfaction to the people, and of these latter the arrangement for the investment of the Commissioner with the duties of a district judge seems to have worked very badly. "Decisions of Mr Lowis as Commissioner he has been called upon to review in his judicial capacity, and of course the people are dissatisfied." Now this is a grievance of which we have to complain here, and the combination of judicial and administrative functions is prominently brought to notice in the Chief Commissioner's late minute on the position and powers of Commissioners of divisions in police administration. To show this we quote the following: "Here perhaps the heaviest part of a Commissioner's duties are those of a sessions judge, and apart from the work therein involved, which would leave less leisure for police departmental control, the inconvenience would arise that an officer directing police measures against criminals one day, would be presiding at their trial on the next."

There is no question that it is impolitic to have judicial and administrative duties centred in one man. Take the Deputy Commissioner of this district: in the event of *dacoitee* or riot in the interior, it is expected as a part of his duty that he goes with the police to endeavour to bring the perpetrators to account; and in doing so, many matters come before him in this investigation which he should not be cognisant of in his capacity of judge, the case having to be tried by him, until they are

brought before him in evidence on the trial. In the same way as in Chittagong, all decisions in the Revenue department have on appeal to be brought before the same officer who has passed the decision, he having thus to review his own orders. The 'Statesman' further goes on to note the geographical connection existing, and the fiscal connection which should exist between Chittagong and Arakan: "Looking at the geographical position of Arakan, it is only a continuation of the district of Chittagong, being separated from British Burmah by the mountain barrier that lies between them."

Then, again, Chittagong has an over-abundance of population —say 487 to the square mile—while Arakan has only about 24 to the square mile. The former cannot find employment or raise sufficient means to pay their highly rated revenue, "and about a tenth of the population of Chittagong migrate annually to Akyab, where the demand for labour is much greater than at Chittagong;" thus the trade of Akyab helps to pay the taxes of Chittagong, and by so doing takes away from Arakan what, with a larger population, would remain in and help to develop and enrich the country. At present it is the interest of the Commissioner of Chittagong to encourage this, as by the earnings of his people migrating to Akyab he has less difficulty in realising his revenue. As we before wrote, "it is obvious to the most obtuse that while these two divisions are under perfectly distinct Governments, it is the interest of the Commissioner of each to do the best he can for his own, however antagonistic their measures may be." Here is a case in point. The Commissioner of Chittagong in his last yearly report made some recommendations "to facilitate communications with the Naaf district, so as to attract its produce northwards; this port (Akyab) has hitherto been its natural outlet, and far less expense on this side would further develop it. Were these two districts, Chittagong and Arakan, under the same Government, the energies of the executive would be directed in the same direction for the same end. At present the interests to be furthered by the operations of the Commissioners are entirely opposed." The 'Statesman,' in writing of the divided authority to the north, says: "It is an anomaly that while Hill Tipperah has of necessity been left with the Chittagong Commissioner, Regulation Tipperah should be administered by the Commis-

sioner of Dacca. The Chittagong Hill Tracts are daily growing in importance, and their interests are intimately bound up with Hill Tipperah and Arakan hill tracts. It is most desirable, therefore, that the whole frontier should be under the same Commissioner and controlled by a single policy." Again, "reasons of an equally strong character show the importance of transferring Tipperah to the Chittagong division, and of adding Arakan thereto." From the preceding, it will be seen that the 'Statesman' advocates the amalgamation of Tipperah, Chittagong, and Arakan, together with all the hill tracts connected with them, into one commissionership. So far as it goes we are quite at one with our contemporary in this; but if he will refer to our columns of 29th July 1876, he will see we proposed a larger amalgamation—viz., that to the above should also be joined all the districts at present under the Chief Commissioner of Assam; that is, all our provinces between the Brahmapootra on the west and north, and the Yoma range of mountains on the east, should be erected into a Lieutenant-Governorship under the designation of the Trans-Gangetic provinces. But if this cannot be managed, we will be quite content with the lesser scheme—anything for a separation from Burmah. We trust the 'Statesman' will still further prosecute his views, and that they may have the support of his metropolitan brethren.

Separation of Judicial and Administrative Duties.

Though we have in the preceding article casually touched on the combination of judicial and administrative functions in the same officers, we have therein advocated the union of Chittagong and Arakan more particularly for fiscal reasons. We would now state our opinion that the union might be made to work for the better discharge of both the judicial and administrative duties of the officers of the province by the separation of those duties, and without much, if any, extra cost to the State. The Act to establish Recorders' Courts in British Burmah was passed on 10th March 1863, and "the Court of the Recorder of Akyab" is the first mentioned in that Act. Similar provision was also made for the establishment of Small-Cause Courts; but though the Act came at once into operation, and there is both a recorder's court and a small-cause court in

Rangoon, we have neither here yet, and much loss and annoyance have been occasioned by the want of them. Without any intention of disparaging the executive here, and we do not think it is derogatory to them if we say that, as the courts are at present constituted without any legally trained judges, the law is not administered here as it should be. The excuse hitherto given for the non-establishment of courts according to the Act is that the revenues of the province cannot afford the expense. We will at once say that this is a deliberate perversion of truth. In the appendices to the Administration Report of 1875-76 we find, under head of finance, that the net revenue from all sources realised was Rs. 20,657,513, while the expenditure was Rs. 10,662,399, leaving in round numbers Rs. 10,000,000, or 50 per cent of the revenue as surplus paid into the Imperial Treasury. It appears to us, with this large surplus, one of the greatest acts of injustice to Arakan (and there are many others) is the unsatisfactory state of judicial matters owing to the want of competent legally trained judges to dispense the law. This was some time ago brought to the notice of the Judicial Commissioner, who apparently purposely misunderstood the appeal to him, "as the head of the legal branch of the administration, to see that some early measures are taken to place matters on a satisfactory footing," by replying that "the selection and appointment of judges rests with the executive and not the legal branch of the administration." This representation, with the Judicial Commissioner's evasive reply, was subsequently sent to the Chief Commissioner, who studiedly shirked the question; the Secretary, in equally evasive, but in a more jesuitical style, such as usually issues from the B. B. S., exhibiting the dulness of his comprehension by saying he could see nothing wrong! Now we think we see a way to meet the penurious views of the Supreme Government, which are apparently, owing to want of moral courage, concurred in by the local government, and so provide the means from which to have a properly constituted Recorder's Court here. By the amalgamation of the different districts named by the 'Statesman' under one commissioner there would be the saving of one Commissioner's salary, and this could be made available for the Recorder. Instead of two commissioners we want only one, the other being metamorphosed into a barrister-judge. If English

law is in force here, it should be administered by English lawyers, and till such is done the Government are cheating the public out of their court fees on false pretences. It is unquestionable that the duties of the officers of the commission who are well up in revenue work could, when divested of judical work, be more energetically devoted to the development of the country, and the revenue would benefit thereby, and proper courts would give suitors more confidence in English law; but more of this anon.

Union of Arakan with Chittagong.

'*Friend of India and Statesman.*'

It is understood that Mr Eden has asked Mr Lowis, the Commissioner of Chittagong, to meet him at Tipperah. The people of Chittagong have been at war with their local executive for a considerable time, and we may hope that in this interview the true cause of this state of matters will be laid bare. The question in particular of the transfer of jurisdiction of *thannah Meerkooerai* from Chittagong to Noakhally should be set at rest. The people complain of the transfer as an unmitigated evil, and the local authorities have latterly, we hear, thrown the weight of their opinion into the scale in favour of the people. The transfer has been condemned, we believe, unanimously by the district officers of both Chittagong and Noakhally, and by the Commissioner himself. It is therefore incomprehensible why the Government should persist in the change.

It is now more than a year since another administrative measure of an unusual character in these provinces was introduced into Chittagong with great dissatisfaction to the people. We refer to the investment of the Commissioner with the duties of a district judge. The arrangement has worked very badly. Decisions of Mr Lowis as Commissioner he has been called upon to review in his judicial capacity, and of course the people are dissatisfied with such appeals. There are special grounds, moreover, which make the investment of the Commissioner with judicial powers undesirable. It is an anomaly, again, that while Hill Tipperah has of necessity been left with the Chittagong

Commissioner, Regulation Tipperah should be administered by the Commissioner of Dacca.[1] The Chittagong hill tracts are daily growing in importance, and their interests are intimately bound up with those of the Hill Tipperah and Arakan hill tracts. It is most desirable, therefore, that the whole frontier should be under the same Commissioner, and controlled by a single policy. Looking at the geographical position of Arakan, it is only a continuation of the district of Chittagong, being separated from British Burmah by the mountain-barrier that lies between them. The distance between Akyab and Rangoon is several times more, even by water, than it is between Akyab and Chittagong,[2] while the two districts are naturally dependent upon each other in many ways. About a tenth of the population of Chittagong migrate annually to Arakan,[3] where the demand for labour is much greater than at Chittagong; and the diversity of the excise administration prevailing in the two districts, coupled with the fact of their belonging to two separate Governments, allows great room for smuggling, while it taxes all the energies of the Chittagong authorities to grapple with it. Again, both Akyab and Chittagong are great centres of trade; and were both under the same controlling authority, it would be better for both ports. Chittagong, again, depends largely for its supply of rice, the chief staple of its trade, upon Tipperah. Reasons of an equally strong character show the importance of retransferring Tipperah to the Chittagong division, and of adding Arakan thereto. The sea-coast on one side and the range of hills on the other would then be the natural boundaries of the Chittagong division, and the territory be complete within itself.

These changes might be effected with the greatest ease, now that there is a judge at Noakhally. It is not just to Chittagong that, with eleven or twelve *moonsuffees*, they should be subjected to a commissioner-judge who does very little civil and no session

[1] We must confess we were not aware till reading the above that the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of Dacca extended across the Megna or Brahmapootra. Certainly it should be limited by those rivers, and all authority over the districts on this side should be vested in the Commissioner of Chittagong or (when effected) the amalgamated divisions.—Ed. *A. N.*

[2] The voyage from Akyab to Rangoon takes fifty hours, against twenty to Chittagong.

[3] Where they would settle were a railway open, and extend the cultivation of the present waste lands.

work at all. It would be more consonant with reason to appoint a district judge to Chittagong, and put an additional judge to Noakhally; there would then be an independent judge at Chittagong, and Noakhally might be gazetted an additional judgeship under the supervision of the judge of Chittagong, if the High Court should object to place an additional judge in independent charge of a district.

Labour for the Tea Districts of Assam and the Fertile Lands of Arakan.

'Arakan News,' 11th August 1877.

We read the following in the 'Indian Tea Gazette': "Eastern Bengal is now suffering from serious daily increasing insufficiency of labour; insomuch so, &c. . . . We mention the circumstance only to show the present need which exists for coolie labour in Eastern Bengal." Importation of coolies is almost equivalent to forced labour as compared with voluntary or *self-supplied* labour. Assam in the north is, like Arakan in the south, in want of labour, and the best labour that could be got would be from settlers. Between them is the populous districts of Chittagong and Tipperah. Emigration from the populous districts to the others is not to be effected by steamers or water communication. It can only be done by *roads*, and in these days of *express*, common roads are of little use, and behind the requirements of the age. *We here repeat, what we have often before urged, the construction of a grand trunk line of railway from the port of Akyab to Gowhatty in Assam, with feeders opening up the country on either side.* This would pass through the populous districts before named, and would spread the population where it was wanted. There would, of course, be competition between Assam and Arakan for it; but that would gradually be regulated by the inducement each could give. The great desideratum—population—would be got, and we would ask our young brother of the 'Gazette,' in the interest of his tea constituents, to take up this idea, which is connected with our proposal for the LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORSHIP of the *Trans-Gangetic Provinces.*

The Old Story—Roads and Railways the want of Arakan.

'Arakan News,' 1st September 1877.

The above heading must not deter our readers and friends from going through the following remarks; we ask them to give us another hearing. We are well aware that it is thought by many that we stick too much to our text, that Arakan can only be opened up and developed by roads and railways, and the wish has been expressed that we should devote more of our attention to general and interesting subjects. Our answer is this, *That our mission and sole end is the improvement of this division and the obtaining for it its just rights, which we believe can only be effected by having roads and railways.* Most of our friends are well posted up with general news as soon as and from the same sources that are available to us, and our giving such would be merely reproducing at a later date what can be seen equally well in other columns; and as regards being interesting, it depends what interest our readers take in the country. We shall therefore, as heretofore, confine our own remarks as much as possible to local subjects, or such as have a bearing on local interests.

We are led to these remarks on again returning to the *primary want* of this province—the want of *inland communication* to connect us with contiguous countries. Contemporary journals tell us that Mr Eden's late visit to Eastern Bengal has resulted in the determination to press forward the construction of roads so as to expedite postal and travelling communication with Assam;[1] and further, that a portion "of the Northern Bengal State Railway from Julpigoree to Atrai, a distance of 134 miles," having been opened, "it ought not to be wholly impossible for the Lieutenant-Governor, when he goes up to Darjeeling next year, to perform the entire distance by rail." Now, here we see works, such as we have been in urgent want of for years, are progressing in districts not far removed from us, and lead us to ask the question, Why should not our local rulers bestir themselves and go and do likewise? It is an undisputed fact that Arakan has been perfectly stationary as

[1] But nothing done for Arakan.

regards its trade for more than twenty years; its export trade at the present time is entirely confined to rice, and this was as large twenty years ago as it is now, confirming this fact; while it is equally clear that this *statu quo* condition is due entirely to the want of a settled population, which again is retarded in its increase by the want of inland communication.

We can say nothing new on this subject, and must therefore content ourselves with repeating the stale but no less true statement, that after the country has been upwards of half a century under British rule we have not thirty miles of common road in this district, far less the attempt on the part of Government to increase this at a more rapid pace than at the rate of five miles per annum!! Five-and-thirty years ago the Commissioner of Arakan, the late Sir Archibald Bogle, to whose energy the province entirely owes its rice-trade, urged on the Government of Bengal the construction of a road to connect us with Chittagong, knowing well that from there alone we must get our population for bringing into cultivation our vast fertile wastes, and that a road was the only means by which this could be done. He was not listened to; and although the cry has ever since been, *give us this road*—varied latterly by the substitution of *railway* for *road*—we are as near getting our want supplied as ever we were. We have before pointed out that not only would road or railway communication with Chittagong and adjacent populous districts give us settlers, but, extended on to Byrub Bazar on the Megna, would lead all the produce of the districts to the eastward of the Megna and Brahmapootra to this port, as the nearest and best outlet for it seaward. We see that Mr Molesworth in his elaborate Railway Report of 1872 proposed alternate lines and extensions to connect Byrub Bazar with the main line of the Northern Bengal Railway, which would of course "tap the whole trade of the fertile eastern districts" and carry it to Calcutta. Byrub Bazar, be it here observed, is on the east bank of the Megna, which would have to be crossed to carry trade to Calcutta. Here we see the great opposition we have to fight against—*the Calcutta interest;*[1] and doubtless Sir George Campbell, when Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, saw this, and so refused any

[1] Now reaping the fruit of their opposition in the frontier raids, and want of means by which to send speedy military help (*vide* telegram, p. 210).

countenance to the Akyab and Megna Railway; so probably at the same time Mr Eden, then Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, anticipating his ultimately ascending the gubernatorial *guddee* of Bengal, discouraged it; so possibly our present Chief Commissioner, Mr Thompson, being a Bengal civilian, having imbibed the views entertained in the Bengal secretariat, where he got his first lessons in the art of governing, may not wish to divert anything from the commercial importance of Bengal,—and so Arakan will be sacrificed for Calcutta interests. A shame on such narrow-minded and unjust policy! We say narrow-minded, because is there not enough for the two ports, and does Calcutta feel that extraneous assistance must be given her to obtain trade which natural causes developed would send in another direction? and unjust, because the Chief Commissioner should do what is essentially necessary for the advancement of the province under his care without reference to what his antecedent or future connections may suggest. We again put it in plain English. Justice to Arakan, which even in its present backward and neglected condition yields a large surplus revenue to Government, none of which is being or has been laid out on the country—*justice*, we say, requires the opening up and development of the country. This can only be effected by railways and roads, and the Commissioner and Chief Commissioner who do not urge their construction are not fulfilling the duties of their appointments; and with this conclusion, that the onus of this work rests with these two high officials, who can determine between themselves with whom the responsibility ultimately is to rest, we at present leave the subject.

Union of Chittagong and Arakan.

We see the 'Bengal Times' reviews the 'Friend's' article on the above subject, and, we regret to find, apparently throws cold water on it. However, he does not give any valid reasons for his dissent, and we would rather conclude that at least he sees its advisability, though possibly, as it would take Tipperah away from Dacca, he may think it thereby would detract from the importance of his own commissionership. As regards its being too large a charge for one man, we do not agree with

him, provided the judicial is separated from the executive; the latter would then be more free to look after their districts and develop them. At present, having judicial work, they are very much tied down to their courts, and unable to go into the districts unless at the inconvenience of suitors. The benefit to the country and the revenue, if they were able to devote their whole attention thereto, would more than compensate any additional expense in the judicial department, if such were necessary.

The State Railway System a Fallacy, retarding the Country's Progress.

'Arakan News,' 29th September 1877.

Having been under the impression that the 'Pioneer' supported *any* system emanating from the departmental cliquisms of Simla, we were quite surprised at reading an article which, among our extracts, we have headed "The 'Pioneer' cautious in its condemnation of the State Railway Department," as, though he actually does not consign it to the unfathomable depths of darkness which it deserves, he says quite sufficient, when coupled with utterings elsewhere sounded, to show how the cat jumps. We congratulate our contemporary, however, on the satisfactory way he has condemned the present system of central control, and the unquestionable advantage of all works being carried out by personal inspection: the present system is what has always been pursued by the P.W.D. (of which the State Railway Department is an abortive branch), and one which has been the cause of most of the failures in their works. It stands to reason that a man must see the ground on which he has to work before he can plan or carry on any satisfactory operation, and we have experience here in many of our works (jails and the like) being *botched* by being planned and directed from Rangoon. In all important works there should be one head—and surely the heads of our various departments are well paid for being so—competent to plan and carry out important works. The designer of a work should always be better able to carry it to completion than a new hand, and if he has his heart in his work, he will always feel

more interest, and use more exertion to see it carried satisfactorily through.

We have, moreover, to thank the 'Pioneer' for copy of a letter addressed by Colonel Fraser, Secretary to the Government N.W.P. and Oudh, to various Commissioners in that province on the subject of light railways. Except the proposal for the construction of line from Dildarnugur to the Ganges opposite Ghazeepore (which we suppose is what is called the Gya State Railway), which we noticed some time ago, we were not aware that the system explained in this letter was being developed so much and so satisfactorily. We will not look a gift-horse in the mouth, nor say anything to stifle the present action in this direction; but we cannot help thinking that the State Railway Department see the folly of having ignored the guaranteed railway system, and this is the thin end of the wedge to return to that system without making an open confession of the error that has been committed, and which has thrown the country so much back.

We have all along maintained that it was impossible for Government to carry out the newly inaugurated system. As referred to elsewhere, *Lord Northbrook, after his experience as Viceroy, expressed the opinion that the railways of India should be made by private capital;* but under the circumstances of the country this could not be done without a guarantee. And again, Mr Danvers in his last report on Indian railways has drawn attention to works being stopped owing to funds[1] not being available from surplus revenue as Government had intended; this was to have been expected, and more particularly so in a year such as the present, when every available rupee is required for famine purposes. True, this should have been provided by temporary loans, and not by the withdrawal of funds from works in progress, thereby retarding in incalculable degrees the progress of the whole economy of the empire. What is the meaning of the following, if it is not a return to the guaranteed system, with the single, but unsatisfactory, difference that the railways are all to be made by Government and not by companies? "The system adopted may thus be briefly summarised: The public resident so near the line as presumably to benefit by its con-

[1] These stoppages continue to the present day, because the Government persistently refuse to give adequate encouragement to private enterprise—1892.

struction, was invited to subscribe to the undertaking. The shares were fixed at Rs. 100 each. On these interest at 4 per cent was guaranteed by Government, being, in fact, first charge as earnings, thus placing the shares from the very beginning on the same footing as any other Government 4 per cent loan. This interest being a fixed charge, is payable at fixed dates to the shareholders. When the accounts for the financial year are made up, which may be about August, any surplus, after paying all charges of working, maintenance, and the guaranteed 4 per cent interest, is rateably allotted per share, whether held by private individuals or by Government if it be a part stockholder."

There is one point not made very clear in the preceding, which was apparently a *sine qua non* when the matter was first mooted, as regards the line in the Ghazepore and Benares districts. It was then stated that "only *bonâ fide* residents of the districts of Benares and Ghazepore will have for the present the privilege of purchasing the shares." From this point, which might have thrown obstacles in the way of its early execution, not being referred to in Colonel Fraser's letter, we hope the privilege has been extended, as we cannot see what difference it should make to Government who holds the stock. If the district provides it, it should not matter whether held in the district or elsewhere. Now we would ask, as we did two weeks ago, Why should not this system be carried out here? The country is suffering from the want of inland communications, and here is a means of supplying our wants which we hope will be taken up by our Commissioner and other local officers interested in the district, and urged on the Government as the pressing necessity of our division.

The 'Pioneer' cautious in its Condemnation of the State Railway Department.

People who ought to know assure us that the State Railway Department does not carry on its work in a satisfactory manner. In England, undertakings like those it has in hand would progress more rapidly and more surely. English engineers work on a different plan from those of the State Railway Department. In England ground is selected and lines are traced

under the immediate direction of the chief engineer, who uses his own eyes, makes himself personally familiar with the whole field of his labours, and continues throughout the progress of his work in close contact with it. Constantly on the ground, he takes note of all difficulties as they arise, seizing advantages and meeting obstacles as they present themselves to a view thoroughly conversant with the district, and instructed by the experience of similar phenomena elsewhere. To him it never occurs, in matters of the least consequence, to depend on any judgment but his own, least of all to rely on the reports of subordinates only. In short, the work in hand is designed and governed by the direct agency and actual presence of the chief; in other words, by the person presumed to be the best qualified to devise and control. The Indian practice, in general, may be described as the reverse of this. What the English engineer pursues in the field in immediate view of his object, the Indian engineer in a great measure hopes to accomplish in his office through the medium of others. The reports of assistants transmitted through several hands to headquarters, classified and manipulated in a central office by the diligence of clerks, such are the materials upon which to a great extent the engineer decides on lines and sections, designs working plans, and provides for such incidents as arise in the course of operations. This method is not favourable to the consummate performance of a task subject to an infinite variety of conditions, and calling from its outset to its close for the immediate action of the best judgment available. No report, however able, can supply all that is required for a thorough mastery of critical points. The experienced eye on most occasions sees more than the pen can describe, and elicits by inquiry and inspection much that would never strike the mind from the perusal of a statement in writing. It is further to be remarked, that whereas this system does not apply to the chief only, but descends through all ranks to the lowest department, it must often happen that the details on which the chief ultimately acts really originate with subordinates of very modest qualifications, from whom they pass through various ascending stages, with little effectual modifications, though with various marks of control, until at length they reach the engineer-in-chief. This method

presents a show of organisation which English offices do not exhibit; on paper it is highly methodical and imposing. Copious details are amassed, and every transaction has its special document; all is minutely recorded and easily referred to; whatever, in short, can be arranged and classified in writing is so arranged and classified in great perfection. But this system is not an efficient substitute for the less formal but more direct process by which the engineer is thrown into constant personal relation with the realities with which he has to deal, doing nothing of importance at second or third hand, but directly grappling with all that is material to the success of his undertaking.—*Pioneer.*

Copy Letter from Colonel Fraser, Secretary to Government N.W.P. in the P.W. Department, on light railways for Oudh.

The following letter has been addressed by Colonel Fraser, Secretary to Government, N.W.P. and Oudh, in the Public Works Department, to the Commissioners of Lucknow, Sitapur, and Rae Bareli:—

The marked success which has attended the experimental Provincial Railway between Muttra and Hathras in the North-Western Provinces has led Sir George Couper to consider whether the same system might not with advantage be extended to Oudh.

The system adopted may thus be briefly summarised:—

The public resident so near the line as presumably to benefit by its construction was invited to subscribe to the undertaking. The shares were fixed at Rs. 100 each. On these interest at 4 per cent was guaranteed by Government, being, in fact, first charge on earnings, thus placing the shares from the very beginning on the same footing as any other Government 4 per cent loan.

This interest being a fixed charge is payable at fixed dates to the shareholders. When the accounts for the financial year are made up, which may be about August, any surplus after paying all charges of working, maintenance, and the guaranteed 4 per cent interest, is rateably allotted per share, whether held by

private individuals or by Government, if it be a part stockholder.

As the Muttra-Hathras line has only been open for about one and three-fourths of a year, comparison in exact figures cannot be made between two whole financial years, but we can compare the first forty weeks of working with the corresponding forty weeks of the following year. It is found that passenger traffic has increased by nearly 20 per cent; the goods traffic by nearly 40 per cent; the average receipts by nearly 24½ per cent; and that, in spite of unexpected drawbacks, this year (being only the *second* year of working) will give a handsome surplus over and above all the charges before referred to.

This very satisfactory result is largely to be attributed to the directorate, which consists partly of official nominations, collectors, and some tahsildars of the districts through which the railway runs, and partly of native gentlemen or traders selected from the body of the shareholders. Whether the latter should be selected by Government or by election of the shareholders themselves is not yet determined with reference to future projects; it would probably depend on the amount subscribed by the public, and the interest it may be considered to have in the undertaking.

This system has been found to work remarkably well. The knowledge of details which the native gentlemen and traders bring to bear on the deliberations of the Board of Directors has proved so great an aid to the executive officers of the line and to the Government, that Sir George Couper will adhere to and endeavour to extend the principle of including in the Provincial Railway directorates a suitable proportion of members selected from the body of the shareholders.

Among other possible lines of communication on which light railways might be advantageously employed, his Honour's attention has been drawn to line from Rae Bareli into Lucknow, from Lucknow to Sitapur, from Sitapur on to Kheri, and perhaps ultimately from Kheri northward so as to tap the rich country about Sera Mau, Muradpur, and Puranpur in the Bareilly district.

I am to request you to make such inquiry and to collect such information as may assist the Lieutenant-Governor in

forming a definite opinion; to note what the amount of traffic is along the suggested lines, and to cause meetings to be held in the several districts of capitalists, traders, and landholders; to explain to them what is suggested, the proposed method of working, and the success that has attended such working on the avowedly "experimental" provincial line; to ascertain the amount of private subscriptions that may be expected, and then to communicate such facts as are gathered, together with your own opinion, to his Honour in the Public Works Department.

As a guide to the probable cost of such railways as are contemplated I may mention that £4000 per mile, including rolling-stock fittings and all, will be ample, except where an unusually large river—such as the Gumti—may have to be crossed. The Muttra Hathras line has cost much less per mile than the sum named.

There is one more point to which I am desired to refer.

The native press, and even the European one, has asserted that shares have been forced upon unwilling subscribers, and it is not improbable that such statements find credence in the bazaars. Sir George Couper wishes it to be distinctly made known that he will discountenance any pressure whatever. He wishes it to be understood that, if the inhabitants believe the railway would benefit them, if they are willing to provide the capital, or a substantial part of it, on the terms mentioned, and if they take so much interest in the undertaking as to accept a share in its administration, the local government will willingly help them to provide railway communication; but if they be unwilling or indifferent, the project will certainly not be for the present entertained.

Should you desire to have any further particulars as to the works, or the working of the existing Provincial Railway, please communicate with the engineer-in-chief, Provincial Railways, Allahabad, who has been instructed to give you any information or assistance he can.—*Pioneer.*

RAILWAYS THE *SINE QUA NON* FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A COUNTRY, AND THE ONLY REAL SAFEGUARD AGAINST THE RAVAGES OF FAMINE.

'Arakan News,' 6th October 1877.

"Once more unto the breach, my friend, once more!"

"Warwick is hoarse with calling thee to arms."

"And he that might the vantage best have took
Found out the remedy."

Last week we drew attention to the subject of light railways as being encouraged by Sir George Couper, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces. We would now ask attention to an article from the 'Spectator' as to the want of light railways in Madras for the distribution of food during the present famine, and the necessity of their construction to guard against a similar calamity in the future. Everywhere they are thinking of railways but in this sleepy hollow, Government-forsaken country. Our province—or rather, as we have been corrected, and must speak more officially, *our division*—is not afflicted with famine, but it nevertheless requires roads and railways. What, we would ask, are our rulers—Mr Thompson, our Chief Commissioner, and Colonel Sladen, our Commissioner—about, that some similar scheme is not devised for the development of this so long-neglected country? Why don't they bestir themselves? We call upon them—Echo answers, How long? nevertheless we say again, we call upon them to be up and doing. We must speak plainly, and will—to strengthen his hand and encourage him to action—say, we are quite confident the latter officer, our Commissioner, sees the necessity as much as we do. Why, then, does he not openly declare his views? He may possibly get from his Chief the same answer as he has given to another representation on this subject, that while he has on hand in Pegu "such works as the extension of the Irrawaddy State Railway to the frontier, and the construction of a line from Rangoon to Tonghoo, he could not undertake, in the present condition of the finances, to press upon the Government of

India the expenditure[1] which your proposal would involve;" but let him be nothing daunted—

> "Screw your courage to the sticking-place,
> And we'll not fail."

The division is in his hands for Government, and it is his bounden duty, *coûte que coûte*, to do and say what he considers for its advancement. He must speak out his mind plainly, and tell authorities in high places of the injustice they are doing to his division, and how such thwarts his endeavours for its benefit by denying it its dues. This is not the day for soft talk and mincing matters. See what such has brought on the Light-house establishment, and such will bring grief to other departments where firmness and persistent endeavours are not used to do that which is right. The 'Daily Review,' in an article we quote headed 100 LAKHS A-YEAR, shows that to be the surplus drawn by Government for years from the province of British Burmah. Of this, Arakan gives a fifth or twenty lakhs; and what has it got for this?—just nothing! We revert to the old, old story—we have not got thirty miles of road in a territory containing 311,100 acres of land *cultivated*, and 568,760 *uncultivated* but *culturable*. It is no use asking our rulers if this state of matters should not bring on them the blush of shame—

> "O shame! where is thy blush?"

as they unblushingly say that much *has* been done to develop the resources of the country, but in what direction deponent sayeth not. We are thankful we do not, as we have said, require roads to protect us or assist us in times of famine. We want roads to open up the country, to bring us in settlers, as they most assuredly would do, and to bring under cultivation our waste but rich lands for the benefit of the Government—whose short-sighted policy, however, does not see it—by increasing the revenue by other means than screwing the last life-drop out of the scant population now in the country. The Chief Commissioner seems to be posed at the want of funds. He need not look for them out of provincial allotments; if he waits for the

1 Strangely enough the Government of India gives this same unsatisfactory excuse at the very time this article is being reproduced in 1892.

construction of the roads and railways required from these, he will have to wait a while, and ere that time comes we trust he will have retired to his native land to enjoy his *otium* on his official laurels.[1] No, let our Chief now add to his laurels, and win the character of an enlightened far-seeing ruler, by taking such action as shall unfailingly bring this Arakan out of its present stagnant slough of despond, transforming it into a country teeming with an industrious thriving population, and yielding to Government a much desired and abundant revenue. *This can only be done by the Iron Horse.* The speedy development of Arakan is *now* in the Chief Commissioner's hands. Writing of the Madras famine, and urging the construction of light railways, the 'Spectator' says, "the circumstances never were so advantageous. India is borrowing at 4 per cent.[2] Parliament, appalled as it will yet be by this present famine, which will exceed in real magnitude any calamity of our time, will be just in the mood for a large scheme." Why should not advantage be taken of this mood for the advancement of Arakan? Parliament will not be slow to see the increasing revenue certain to accrue to the Treasury by the development of a rich country to meet the expense of the present and maybe future famines, and there will be no difficulty about the money. Apply the following couplet to the affairs of Arakan—

> "There is a tide in the affairs of men,
> Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune."

Now is our vantage-time—let us at once profit by it, and so go on to ultimate success.

Railways the great want to meet the Famine, and as a future Safeguard.

The Government of India appears to be stretching every nerve to save the people, but the destruction will be awful. The 'Times,' which animadverts on the conduct of Government in not buying grain, misses the true point, which is not deficiency in supply, but a total impossibility of distributing it. There are no distributing railways, though there is one main

[1] Ay, indeed, he has not only retired from office, but has gone to his long home, and nothing yet done!—1892.

[2] Now at 3.

line; there are not sufficient cattle, and men cannot haul for hundreds of miles without eating more than they can pull. There is nothing for it but to march the people to the neighbourhood of the great lines, and risk the diseases which follow. Even then it is more than doubtful if food can be urged forward quickly enough. Imagine, for that is the truth, all France without food, and only one railway, carrying at its utmost working power enough grain to keep Paris and Lyons healthy. The edible roots, the grass, the very thatch of the huts, all are gone, and after a hundred years of secure rule, we are paralysed by want of locomotive power. A telegram, which is, we trust, exaggerated, says the condition of Guzerat also is hopeless; that is, the thickest population in the richest native State of Western India must perish. One-third of all the misery in the south is directly traceable to the cynical idiots who abused Lord Salisbury, Sir Richard Temple, and the 'Spectator' for urging even extravagant measures of relief in Behar. They frightened the officials into a parsimony which has prevented reasonable measures of precaution.—*Spectator.*

Ten Thousand Miles of Railways for Madras.

The prevention of famines in Southern India, though immensely difficult, is not so difficult as it looks—that is to say, it is possible, and possible without sacrificing every object of government to that of keeping the people alive. We do not believe, it is true, that Joseph's plan in Egypt, which the 'Times' appears to favour, would succeed. That early Jewish Premier knew the famine was coming, and could provide for a definite need, at an expense which, if the famine had not come, would have rendered the Treasury bankrupt, but, as it was, made the State owner of all surplus wealth. Housing a two years' supply of grain in the villages of Madras would be enormously expensive; and the regular sale of it in good years—which would be indispensable—would annihilate the last vestiges of private trade. Nor do we believe that the "ultimate remedy"—the irrigation of the whole country till Madras is as Lombardy—can as yet, while the country is so poor and so little civilised, be safely attempted. The expense would be too great for the resources of the State. Madras engineers and English

jobbers are always eager for the experiment, and both of them, though from very different motives, promise unheard-of profits; but neither of them can show a new Indian canal (a canal, that is, not assisted by old native works) which produces a clear 7 per cent in cash dividend for its owners. The Madras Irrigation Company, which just now is availing itself of the famine to reopen its old case, confesses, even in the form of its plaints, that it is not sure of large dividends, for if it were, it could find the remaining money needed without a guarantee, or would be ready to transfer its guarantee from the State to capitalists, who would lend the money still wanted to complete the works on debentures. The India Office would consent to the reasonable and honourable arrangement without a word of remonstrance. But we do believe that the native form of irrigation—the formation of vast tanks, lakes, and reservoirs of water, the method which made Tanjore a garden—could be pursued to a much greater extent without inordinate expense; that the villagers could be taught to sink wells, if the State would only find the brick-work; and that artesian wells, on the plan adopted by General Daumas in Algeria, could be sunk without any very ruinous outlay. The districts to be covered are very great; but an artesian well could be sunk in every hundred (*talook*) without ruining the State, and would reduce the losses from a famine-year at least one-half, by rendering it possible to keep the animals alive. The storage of water could be effected, if the India Office sincerely wished it, much more cheaply than the storage of grain, and without involving grants of money to a population not yet fitted, if they ever will be fitted, to endure a poor law.

All these plans might wisely be tried, and tried by the State, through the Cooper's Hill Engineers, without delay, and without pledges, which the State may find it inconvenient to keep; but the true remedy lies elsewhere, not in the increase of production to an amount for which there is as yet no market, but in a vast and sudden increase in the means of distribution. India throughout its extent, but especially in the south, has just arrived at the stage where roads are indispensable, yet roads of the old kind cannot be made without preposterous, and, indeed, unendurable losses. If we could order the whole population to labour for half its time on State roads without pay, we

might in ten years cover the Presidency with firm roads, which would yield no revenue, but which would gradually develop traffic, and would make communication in a year of famine comparatively easy. This is what Roman prefects would have done, and what a Russian Government of India would do; but the plan is opposed to every English notion of right and wrong, and would involve in execution almost as much misery to the millions as the famine does. We can only supply roads of a kind which will pay for themselves, and those roads must be in India, as in the Western States of America, railways—railways built as lightly, as cheaply, and with as steep gradients as scientific knowledge will allow. There is not the slightest reason why they should be built to allow of high speeds. Ten miles an hour—the speed of an English gig—is sufficient to bring grain from the North-west to Travancore in four days—that is, quite as quickly as there is any necessity for bringing it, and quite ten times as quickly as it can now be carried. There is not the slightest need for a wide gauge, or for grand tunnels, or for stations better than sheds, or for rails of great weight, or for brick bridges, or for any attention to æsthetics in the construction of the roads. All that is wanted is rough, safe, slow railways, to be built upon Government land, to be fitted with the thinnest and cheapest rails that will bear the traffic at all, and to be considered first and last not "engineering triumphs," or "evidences of civilisation," or "outcomes of the Western brain," but the convenient makeshifts of overpressed poor-law guardians. Such railways can be constructed, if contractors can be kept off them, for less than £5000[1] a mile, and if so constructed will indubitably either prevent famine, by allowing free traffic in grain, or enable the State in an exceptionally bad year easily to relieve it. India is, for the purposes of grain production, a planet, with so many climates, so many kinds of grain, and so many varying conditions of soil that a general famine is not to be expected. There probably never has been a year—certainly there never has been one under British rule—when the vast continent, as large, be it remembered, as all Europe west of the Vistula, did not produce grain enough to feed its people, and all that is needed to make hunger impossible are means of distri-

[1] Colonel Fraser says these can be made for £4000 or less—the Muttra Hathras having cost less.—ED. *A.N.*

bution and money to buy the food. About the money there is no serious difficulty. The people will accumulate gradually under their new tenure, imperfect as it is, and as they accumulate, Government can step forward, as the Government of France does, as universal *muhajan*, and lend them in difficult years the money they require to keep alive. Their jewels, their lands, when once secured them, and their future crops, are security enough—quite as good security, Government being absolute, as the Government of France obtains through its Monte de Piété. The single necessity is the distributing railway, and, as experience in Madras has proved, 10,000 miles of light railway could be built for fifty millions sterling—that is, for two millions a-year in interest at 4 per cent. Supposing one-half this interest to be lost for ever, the expense of poor relief for Southern India—a million a-year—would not be unendurable, while the immense probabilities are that not one shilling would be sacrificed. There is no competing sea; there are no competing rivers. There are no roads, competing or other. All the traffic of twenty millions of people must pass over the iron roads, and if the roads are but cheap and the tariffs low, that traffic must pay. It is beginning to pay well even on roads built, at enormous expense for so poor a country, to carry, at twenty miles an hour, traffic which could just as advantageously have been carried at ten. The circumstances never were so advantageous. India is borrowing at 4 per cent. Parliament, appalled as it will yet be by this present famine, which will exceed in real magnitude any calamity of our time, will be just in the mood for a large plan. The Public Works Department, just organised up to its full strength, is about to lie idle at enormous cost. There are masses of labour to be had for bare food. And finally, all men are willing that a great scheme, a scheme which at least will secure that South India shall never again be cut off from food-supplies, shall be fairly tried, tried with Government and the people alike eager that it should succeed. Of the gain to commerce we say nothing, but it must be immense; for twenty millions of industrious, orderly, and submissive people would be enabled to communicate with each other as freely as if they were all inhabitants of the same city. Of the political gain we say little, for Madras, even as it is, is the easiest Presidency to govern, but the work of civilising

the country would be rendered a hundred times more easy. We content ourselves with maintaining that the Government could at a risk quite within the power of the Treasury to endure—a risk, too, of the most shadowy kind—place Southern India altogether beyond the worst risks of famine, bring its officers, and its supplies, and its power generally, within a hundred miles of the most remote village in the country, and make the future task, the universal provision of water by wells, tanks, and aqueducts, comparatively cheap and easy. That with such a system of feeders in existence the existing railways would at once become sources of a large revenue is a minor point, as is also the consideration that the military difficulty of South India, the cost and cumbrousness of transport, would be at an end. The single argument it is needful to press is, that for the safety of the population nothing is required but sufficient means of transporting food without reliance on animal labour, and that sufficient means can be provided, probably with advantage to the Treasury, but certainly without exhausting it.—*Spectator.*

The 'Friend' on the 'Spectator's' Views.

The 'Spectator' maintains that the prevention of famines in Southern India, though immensely difficult, is possible without sacrificing every object of Government to that of keeping the people alive. The writer dismisses the plan of laying up stores of grain for emergencies and the making of canals as too costly; but believes that the old native modes of irrigation, the formation of vast tanks, lakes, reservoirs, the method which made Tanjore a garden under native rule, could be pursued without inordinate expense; that the villagers could be taught to sink deep wells if the State would find the brick-work; and that artesian wells, on the plan adopted by General Daumas in Algeria, could be sunk without any ruinous outlay.

But the true remedy lies in a vast increase in the means of distribution. These means must be in India, as in the Western States of America, railways—railways built as lightly, as cheaply, and with as steep gradients as scientific knowledge will allow. There is not the slightest reason why they should be built for high speed. Ten miles an hour, the speed of an

English gig, would be sufficient to take grain from the North-west to Travancore in a week, as quickly as there is any necessity for carrying it, and ten times as quickly as it can now be carried. There is not the slightest need for wide gauge, or grand tunnels, or for stations better than sheds, or for rails of great weight, or for brick bridges, or for any attention to æsthetics. What is wanted is rough, safe, slow railways, fitted with the thinnest steel rails, and to be considered not as "engineering triumphs," but the convenient makeshifts of over-pressed poor law guardians. Such railways can be constructed for less than £5000 a mile, and will either prevent famine by allowing free traffic of grain everywhere, or enable the State easily to relieve distress when it comes.

We give prominence to these views as agreeing with them generally; but the course of this famine has impressed us otherwise as to the existence of Government reserves of food. Here is Agra starving, not because there is no food, but no means of controlling prices, so as to keep them below famine range.—*Friend of India and Statesman.*

Lord Derby on British Burmah and the adjoining Provinces being constituted into a separate Lieutenant-Governorship.

'Arakan News,' 13th October 1877.

Some months ago a suggestion was made in our columns that these provinces should be constituted a Crown colony, or at least a separate lieutenant-governorship, this last idea having originated with the present Earl of Derby when Lord Stanley. Some of our contemporaries ridiculed at the time either idea, and later the 'Leader' chaffed us on the subject. We knew that Lord Stanley had given utterance to the opinion expressed, but had not beside us particulars of his speech, or the occasion which called it forth. We believed it was at a general meeting of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, and we accordingly wrote to the secretary of that body for information. We are happy to say that through the courtesy of that gentleman we are now in possession of the half-yearly report for 1864, where we find Lord Stanley was present at the half-yearly meeting of

the Chamber, held on the 4th August of that year. Among our extracts will be found Lord Stanley's words; they were called forth by an allusion in the Report of the Council to a representation made to the Chamber by the Chamber of Commerce of Rangoon (a body we believe now defunct), on the defects of the courts of justice in the province. His lordship then said that this "part of India has not obtained in this country or at Calcutta the attention it deserves." If his lordship has since given attention to the subject, or if he will now draw himself off for a moment from foreign politics, and glance at what has been done in the interim, we shall be surprised if he is not dumfoundered at the little that *has been really done* for the development of the country which he declared to have "a very great future." He never made a truer declaration, and it remains true at this day; yet while this "great future"[1] is still to come, it must strike him and all intelligent administrators that it is derogatory to an enlightened Government that this development *has yet* to come. Thirteen years have passed since he spoke, and what has been done? True, the revenue of the province has expanded most marvellously, but that has not been from the extra attention bestowed on the province either from Calcutta or England, but from the sheer force of circumstances. The division of Pegu has *developed itself*, in fact it could hardly be kept back. True, money has been spent almost without stint on Pegu, to the detriment of the sister divisions; but how about its judicious disposal? Large sums have been laid out on embankments to reclaim land of which there is otherwise already abundance and to spare; in fact, more in the province than can possibly be cultivated for years to come, and this on the idea that some day this reclaimed land will give a fair return on the outlay. But during this past season the great inundations have committed sad havoc on the embankments, the repairs to which will walk pretty considerably into the chief engineer's expected returns, and the continuous expense of keeping them up will be considerable. Then again the outlay on the Rangoon and Prome Railway; doubtless it will be a great benefit to the province, and being a step in the right

[1] This has yet to be looked for, fifteen years after the above was written, twenty-eight years after Lord Derby spoke. What will he say now to the "future" yet waited for?

direction, we will not say more against it than that it was not immediately wanted, and the money spent on it *ought* to have been laid out on other parts of the province where communications were essentially necessary—*vide* Arakan, which is destitute of *any means of communication* with adjoining countries except by the great highway of the sea—a highway which nature has provided, and for which Arakan can say, No thanks to the Government of India!

Last week, in an article headed "RAILWAYS, THE *SINE QUA NON* FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A COUNTRY," we asked why the Chief Commissioner and the Commissioner of this division did not bestir themselves to devise some scheme for the development of this long-neglected country; and called upon them to be up and doing. Our opportunities of communicating with Rangoon are so few and far between, as shown in another column, that our *Call* to the C.C. only left here by Wednesday's steamer; and even if he should condescend to lend an ear to us, it may be weeks and months, and even years, as in the time that has already passed, before any attention is given to us. The system of Government here is radically wrong. Though our Commissioner should be ever so anxious to give a good account of his stewardship—though he should write volumes of reports, and send in numberless representations as to the wants of the province and the means by which these should be supplied, and his labours crowned by the development of the country—what more can he do?[1] His hands are tied and his mouth sealed until higher authorities take it into their wise heads to act. Now, if Lord Derby would only lend an ear to us, and with the views formerly expressed, indoctrinate Lord Salisbury with the same, there might be some chance for us; but to expect anything from the Government of India is just out of the question. Their indifference to their responsibilities as regards this province are now quite à byword; and *as long as the natural richness of the country gives a revenue*,[2] which they unjustly carry off under the misnomer *Imperial*, the country may whistle for any action. Leaving alone Pegu and Tenasserim—the former of which has all the interest at headquarters, and the latter of which can fight for herself as well as we can, but for which we heartily

[1] See a former Commissioner's opinion, "hopelessly," p. 9. [2] *Vide* p. 5.

give a cry, Do her justice also!—we beg and implore Lord Derby, and also Lord Salisbury, to lend an ear to our cry for development. The country is yearning for it, and this can only be effected, as we have repeatedly said before, by the IRON HORSE. Our local revenue can well afford it. Then give us railways. Our population is scant, and it is not wealthy; for want of a railway the wealth that yearly comes into it from our rice-trade, is carried away to other countries by the migratory labour we are obliged to import from Chittagong and elsewhere, which profit by it. The railway will bring in population, will give us indigenous labour, and so retain our wealth in ourselves. Then, men of Arakan, bestir yourselves! aid our humble endeavours to get justice done to your country, and inaugurate some definite scheme for the consideration of Government, which, if ignored here, will not be so in England, where you have more real friends than you are aware of, ready and willing to help, only waiting you to tell them how.

Why does not the chief engineer of these provinces visit this division and devise the means for its improvement, as the chief engineer of the North-West has just been doing in his charge? We close this by asking, Has the chief engineer of British Burmah ever visited Arakan—when, and how often, and how long ago? But unless he is to do some real good, his travelling expenses had better be saved; we do not want visits Deckne Ka waste. We have had many such before now of heads of departments, but *cui bono?* We want visits to produce results.

Extract from the Speech of Lord Stanley (the present Earl of Derby).

As to the improvement of courts of justice at Rangoon, I think that that part of India has not obtained in this country or at Calcutta the attention it deserves. It is a country which, in my belief, has a very great future. I have lately seen people returned from it who speak of it as a territory offering a boundless field to commercial enterprise. It is more like a colony than any other part of India; it is thinly peopled; it is a country which has been very quiet; it is rather out of the way, and perhaps on that account it does not offer so many temptations to the most aspiring and able members of the civil and military

services. I have long looked forward to the time, and I think it ought not to be far distant, when all that large territory lying to the south-east of Calcutta—British Burmah and the adjoining provinces—shall be constituted into a more independent Government—into, at least, a separate lieutenant-governorship. That would involve a certain increase of expense, and that is of course a difficulty; that it would, I believe, remove some local causes of complaint, and would probably involve the establishment of such improved local courts of justice, as are mentioned in the report.

Extension of Railways and other Works of Utility in India with English Capital.

'Arakan News,' 20th October 1877.

'Vanity Fair' is right for once: "At a time when such lamentable accounts are reaching us from India, it is a relief to turn to some brighter phase of Indian progress. And such is supplied in the yearly report of the Indian railways, which are still making steady progress. We have for some time given up advancing money to foreign Governments of questionable solvency and honour. We would strongly recommend English capitalists now to turn their attention to India. Several high authorities have written to show those periodical famines might be averted if English capital was sent to aid Nature in distributing her bountiful gift over India; railways have done much to carry food from the rich to the barren lands, but we want many more canals, which would soon convert the latter into a rich and reliable food-producing country. This is not a work of charity, but one which will pay far better than most foreign loans."

These opinions are gradually making way, and under the impulse of the present calamity of famine, the opponents of public works made with borrowed capital are being driven from their position. It needed the bitter experience through which the country is now passing to enforce the lessons which no amount of sound reason seemed capable of driving into timid minds. We heartily wish the time were come when it will be our part to urge caution rather than zeal upon Government in

the prosecution of public work. But for years back caution in this respect has degenerated into timidity and weakness, and we shall be glad to see the birth of a little energy as one of the good fruits of the present suffering.—*Friend of India.*

Every endeavour should be used to attract English capital to India, as one of the best outlets for it.—ED. *A. N.*

LIGHT RAILWAYS FOR OUDH.

The 'Lucknow Times' observes: "We are very glad, indeed, that the local government is taking a worthy initiative in endeavouring to supply a want which is annually making itself more and more felt in the province. We refer to the project for intersecting certain portions of Oudh with light railways, something similar in construction and plan to the Muttra Hathras line, and which can be quickly and yet substantially laid down and constructed without embarking in any excessive expenditure, which a regular railway system would necessarily involve. The question is now before the public in a practical and completely ship-shape form, and it mainly rests with our provincial capitalists, the territorial chiefs and great talukdars, and the trading and resident public generally, to decide whether a project of such unquestioned utility shall or shall not be undertaken. The local government will, of course, embark in the undertaking, and aid it by its contributions for the stock as well as guaranteeing the interest on the working capital contributed by the public; but as the Lieutenant-Governor and Chief Commissioner explicitly state that it is a *sine qua non,* in view of the construction of these lines of light railways, that the people in the vicinity of the routes they take and the community at large should participate, both as subscribers and co-administrators, with the Government in their management, the successful carrying out of the scheme practically rests with the people of the province, and we hope our capitalists, large landed proprietors, and the trading body will not be unmindful of the duties devolving upon them in the matter.

GYA STATE RAILWAY.

We publish below the Government circular about the Gya State Railway loan. The circular, as will be found, is dated 30th September 1876.

From G. A. D. ANLEY, Esq., C.E., Off. Asst. Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal in P. W. Department, to the COMMISSIONER of the Patna Division, P.W.D.

FORT WILLIAM, *the 30th September* 1876.

SIR,—With reference to your letter No. 247F., dated 7th January last, I am directed to state that his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor takes great interest in the proposed railroad between Patna and Gya, and is most desirous of seeing the project taken in hand.

2. The Director of State Railways was accordingly addressed on the receipt of your letter, previous to submitting a further application to the Government of India on receipt of the Director's views on Mr Campbell's report. The Director has not, however, yet replied to the reference.

3. Under the circumstances of financial embarrassment which have lately formed the subject of a special resolution by the Government of India, the Lieutenant-Governor cannot now apply to that Government for a loan for carrying out this important work, and it remains to be seen in what manner funds can be provided for the object in view.

4. His Honour will be glad to receive any suggestions which you may have to offer, and I am also to inquire whether the capital necessary for the railroad could be raised in the districts of Gya and Patna by loans on some such terms as these:—

5. The shares to be Rs.100 each, bearing interest (guaranteed by Government) of 4 per cent per annum, payable half-yearly at the Patna and Gya Treasuries. Should the net earning of any one year exceed 4 per cent on the guaranteed capital, the surplus to be equally divided between Government and the shareholders. Shares to be transferable by holders.

6. Whenever the work, rolling stock, and appurtenances shall be complete to the extent provided for by the designs and

estimates sanctioned by the Government for the scheme, the capital account should be closed and fixed, and thereafter all additions (not being extension to the length of the railway), alterations, renewals, and maintenance shall be paid for out of the earnings of the railway.

7. By mutual agreement between the Government and the subscribers, the capital subscribed might be repaid at any time; but unless such agreement be made, the Government would hold the subscribed capital for a period of not less than ten years. At the expiration of ten years, the Government would have the option of paying off the subscribed capital at any time and taking possession of the branch line, one year's previous notice of such intention being given.

8. His Honour trusts that the inhabitants of the wealthy districts of Patna and Gya will come forward, and, by subscribing to the proposed loan, secure to themselves the benefit of a railway through their district.

9. I am to inquire whether it has been contemplated to carry the rail to the river-side; and whether, if there was this means of traffic, for which the East Indian Railway rates might prove too heavy, being able to take to the river, this might render the scheme more acceptable to the zemindars of the districts concerned.

10. I am to request that you will submit a copy of the "Engineer-in-Chief's" Report, No. 1623, dated 25th September 1875, on this railway.—*Statesman and Friend of India.*

Why should such a useful work be delayed? Money can be had in abundance if the public are only applied to for it, and the state of the Government finances need not be the obstruction.—ED. *A. N.*

CHITTAGONG AND ARAKAN.

'Arakan News,' 27th October 1877.

As at present constituted, Chittagong is the bane of Arakan, and Arakan is the bane of Chittagong; were they worked under the same head authority, they would be mutually helpful

to each other, or rather, being one and the same, they would prosper together.[1]

We have not seen the Administration Report, or the Government of Bengal's resolution thereon referred to by the 'Pioneer' in an article which we give among our extracts; and we therefore take the grounds of the following remarks from his article.

One of the principal outcries from Chittagong is, that "local labour is hard to get. It is not that men are scarce in Chittagong. The reason is that nearly every one has some land of his own—even labourers and domestic servants have their plots of land to work on." Now, how is this? Just this: the population of Chittagong is so large that it cannot support itself, and the value of land, and the consequent rent of the same, is so high that the wage to buy the land or to pay the rent cannot be earned in the district itself. Then, how are these sums provided? Why, by migration to Akyab, where there is no indigenous labour, and where the lazy Arakanese will rather pay away every rupee he can do without than trouble himself to work even for his own profit. As is well known, the rice-trade of Akyab has been a perfect mine for the working classes of Chittagong. Though wealth has come into Akyab, it has not remained here. Yearly, at different stages of the rice-trade—at the sowing, at the reaping, at the shipping season—shoals of Chittagong coolies come down to do the labour of these various stages. They generally come here *piceless;* they one and all of them go away with money, and many of them, like the Sircars, coolie-Mangees, and brokers, go away with wealth—the result of peculation and chicanery unfathomable by even the sharpest Europeans or Arakanese with whom they come in contact. The gains of many of these men have been made by such nefarious practices that they fear holding the money in any way but in land, and this in most cases is *benanee* in the names of their *bai-brothers*, fathers, mothers, wives, and children. This is one reason why land is dear in Chittagong—there is so much competition for it. Then again, almost all the servants in Akyab (till within the last few years, when some Madrasees have been coming in) are from Chittagong; they come here for a few months, earn good wages, spend as little

[1] This remains true to the present day, 1892, only Chittagong belongs to Bengal, Arakan to Burmah. Hence their antagonism instead of brotherhood!

of that on themselves as they possibly can, but by peculation endeavour to get as much otherwise out of their masters as will feed them. Cooks particularly are the most *peculant* of the fraternity, and many a sore day have heads of houses with this genus to meet their extortionate cheating propensities. These men, too, return to their *moolluks* with money, and all endeavour as much as possible to invest it in land; if not, their earnings in Akyab enable them to pay the rents of their holding as tenants, living in idleness, and keeping their families for some months till it is time to go back to Arakan to repeat the game of spoliation. Yes; Akyab is a prey to the Chittagonians, who look upon it as the vulture on its victim, and scrape it to the bone. Then again, "the resolution winds up with the conduct of the zemindars; and, with few exceptions, they are a worthless lot. Their only excuse for the apathy they showed during the troubles of the cyclone is their indebtedness, and their utter inability to exert any influence over the people either for good or evil." What else could be expected of them, if the proprietors of the lands have earned them in the way we have here described? The wealth brought from Arakan has bought out all the respectable zemindars, and what have you in their place? Men who have made their way from the lowest by lying and stealing, and invested all in land; and, without spare means, or a sufficient revenue from their purchases, have little more than to supply their own wants.

The courts here could tell of many men who have been enriched here at the expense of their employers. Lately a broker decamped, said to have got advances from his employer to the extent of Rs. 80,000, the greater part of which has doubtless gone to Chittagong, where it is probably invested in property in any one's name but the real owner's. So there is no getting hold of it, and the police seem to be perfectly helpless in arresting the fugitive.

Now the remedy for all this, in our humble opinion, is the amalgamation of Chittagong with Arakan, and their connection with each other by a railway. This would spread population which will not migrate by sea, giving them land in abundance in Arakan on terms not open to them in Chittagong—terms which, if they could only be understood by the people, would be largely and eagerly availed of. This would decrease the

population of Chittagong, but at the same time it would, we think, help to equalise the cost of labour. It would be lowered in Akyab; but at the same rates they would avail of employment in their own districts, where at present they cannot earn the wage received in Akyab. We purpose returning to this subject again.

The Trade of Chittagong.

The trade of Chittagong, which town was declared a port in 1822, and prospered as such till the Bengal famine year, now keeps on declining. In 1873-74 the gross tonnage of the port was over a million; this last year it has fallen to 80,862. Every now and then the Bengal Government hopes that something will turn up to revive the Chittagong trade.[1] A demand for rice was expected, which never came off; and now they are putting their trust in salt, the stocks having been greatly reduced by the cyclone. Then Chittagong has always a lot of extra produce to get rid of, if it could, and tea-gardens are springing up everywhere; but the communications of the division are bad, and local labour is hard to get. It is not that men are scarce in Chittagong, the reason is that nearly every one has some land of his own—even labourers and domestic servants have their plots of land to work on. The traffic difficulty will vanish when water communications are improved; but the schemes which were under consideration in Sir George Campbell's time are nothing more than schemes still. The Lieutenant-Governor, however, promises to do what he can in the way of special engineers and grants-in-aid of road-cess expenditure. The cyclone and storm-waves are blamed for an increase of crime in the Noakhally division—flotsam, jetsam, and disputed property of all sorts, often leading to the illegal settlement of ownership. In the Chittagong district, arson is a favourite crime; every quarrel ends with a fire. The people of the division are notoriously addicted to civil litigation; they go to law whether they have a cause or not. Neither the recreation they find in civil justice, however, nor the interruptions of a cyclone and storm-wave have kept them from being discontented. Public feeling, says the Lieutenant-Governor in his resolution on the Administration Report, has been unsettled.

[1] The jute trade of Eastern Bengal has lately revived it.

The efforts of the Government to recover and reassess lands held illegally should have been made with tact and discretion; but in some cases the shortcomings of an officer have earned for him a reprimand from Calcutta. But it must not be supposed that the ill-feeling between the people and the officers of Government has not been improperly represented in some quarters; there was a deliberate attempt to distort and magnify a real, though not a great, grievance, and the failure of this attempt was by no means due to the caution always shown before it was forwarded by outsiders. Some time ago the people of Chittagong were represented as having a tremendous thirst for education. During the year under notice their thirst was quenched a little, perhaps, by the cyclone and storm-wave, which damaged school-houses right and left. The *zillah* schools both at Chittagong and Noakhally are flourishing, however, and more attention is being paid to female education, though the Lieutenant-Governor has to reproach the former place for being without a girls' school. The official resolution winds up with the conduct of the zemindars; and, with few exceptions, they are a worthless lot. Their only excuse for the apathy they showed during the troubles of the cyclone is their indebtedness, and their utter inability to exert any influence over the people either for good or for evil. —*Pioneer.*

Mr Kirkwood on developing Chittagong, and connecting it with Akyab.

'Arakan News,' 10th November 1877.

In an article in the 'Calcutta Review' of October 1877, entitled "The Wastes and Water-ways of Chittagong," Mr Kirkwood of the B.C.S., who for a short time held the post of collector of Chittagong, has endeavoured to set forth the benefits to be derived by connecting the rivers of the Cox's Bazaar subdivision by means of a series of cheap canals capable of admitting the usual native boat traffic. Had Mr Kirkwood contented himself solely with setting forth, for the information of capitalists, the ease with which the work could be accomplished, and the liberal profits certain to accrue to those daring enough to embark their capital in the scheme of opening out tea-estates along the sinuous windings of the Mata mori, Bagh Kali, and Rezu, his article

would have attracted little attention in this quarter; but, unfortunately, Mr Kirkwood has held out promises that are fallacious, and his article discloses a sad ignorance of the country bordering on the Chittagong frontier which would be expected only in an uncovenanted officer of the Punjab or Madras, and raise grave doubts in our minds as to the wisdom of those who first thought of intrusting the affairs of this mighty empire to the omniscient competition *wallah*, who is generally supposed by his admirers to have completed his education in all sublunary and other matters about that period of life when other less gifted mortals are about to commence their studies. Mr Kirkwood having satisfactorily, as far as we know, conducted his canal through the Cox's Bazaar subdivision to Mangdu (Moung-daw) on the Naaf, and established there a Rosherville for the consumption of tea and shrimps, and the further delectation of the Bengali gent of the period, draws the following somewhat hasty conclusion: "The southern part of the Chittagong district and the northern part of Akyab would thus be linked by a series of sheltered water-ways to the civilisation of Bengal, of which the town of Chittagong may now be said to be the most southern outpost. *A cheap and sheltered water route, waiting the two civilisations of Bengal and Burmah, could not fail to benefit both provinces.*". We are truly thankful to find that Burmah has been admitted within the pale of civilisation. The civilisation of the Naaf township, however, about the lowest in the province, is all that Mr Kirkwood's canal would give him access to. To reach the Akyab district by boat from the Naaf river, it would be necessary to go out to sea and run for the mouth of the Mayoo, a distance of fifty miles as matters now stand; and to join the Naaf and Mayoo rivers a canal would have to be taken either across a range of hills 800 feet high at their lowest point, or be carried for fifty miles along the narrow strip of country between their base and the sea, a work of no small difficulty in either case. To hear Mr Kirkwood, however, it would seem as if his petty system of district water-ways was not only to open out the wastes of Chittagong, but to join them unto the whole civilisation of British Burmah. A slight stretch of imagination might have included Siam, Cambodia, and China *viâ* the Kachen hills and Yunan: it was a pity to stop short so soon.

The ignorance which exists in what ought to be well-informed circles regarding this ill-used part of the Empress's dominions is really lamentable, and we do not wonder at some people pooh-poohing a railway when individuals can be found who will cut a canal to the foot of a hill 1000 feet high and say, Now, come over with your boat and merchandise, we have joined *our* civilisation to yours. For our own part we would rather keep our civilisation separate. It may be thought that we are too hard on the Reviewer; but the truth is, that when a man writes for a periodical of some influence, we expect him to be at least ordinarily well informed, and we have no patience with a man who can talk in so flippant a style of a gentleman who has had a far longer experience of the country, and who, if anything, is rather before the age than behind it. With an earnestness which Mr Kirkwood will probably consider "demure," we urge him to learn to believe that there are at least as many hard-thinking, well-educated men outside the service to which he belongs as there are in it: to think otherwise is certainly to indulge in the "rose-coloured vision of a dreamer." There is one paragraph in the article, however, which has an interest for those who believe that it really is desirable to connect Arakan to Chittagong by either a good road or railway, and that is the following: "But the subdivision does boast the remnants of a road, running north and south, which, even in its ruins, dwarfs to insignificance the tracks furnished by an engineer of to-day. During the first Burmah war there sprang into existence, probably under the auspices of forced labour, a road which, judging from its mutilated carcass, must have been indeed a mighty work. Scorning to search for a gap through which to creep, it flung itself on the low hills through which it had to pass, and declining to climb, it clove them with deep broad cuttings, which the continued action of the hill torrents on the sides and roadway has not yet made useless for foot or horse traffic. It traversed the valley land on either bank of the rivers with embankments 10 feet high and roadways 30 feet broad." We, too, on this side can still trace the vestiges of such a road, and any one writing on the subject ought to have been acquainted with its history, particularly a man in Mr Kirkwood's position. We think he is in error in saying it sprang into existence during the first Burmese war, and if he will refer to XIX of the Selections from

the Records of the Government of India he will find its history —that its construction was ordered by a governor whose far-seeing in the matter of roads and railways as necessary for the development of the whole empire has not been equalled, and had his ideas been carried out, all that Mr Kirkwood with his water schemes, and the "old gentleman," to whom he sneeringly refers, with his railway schemes, have proposed, would have been accomplished years ago. That he, that able administrator, the lamented Lord Dalhousie, saw that it would be necessary to join the barbarism of Burmah to the civilisation of India is quite certain; but why, it may be asked, during all these years, has no one come forward to urge the Imperial Government to complete a great work which was evidently abandoned on hasty considerations and imperfect data? Surely the work is an Imperial one, and not simply local. Again and again it *has* been urged on Government and ignored. As pointed out by Mr Kirkwood, over 50,000 men annually leave the Chittagong districts for three or four months of the year, to plough and reap in Akyab or help in the rice godowns; but of these hardly a single man ever settles in the country to take up the waste lands that are to be had for the asking on every side. Owing to this want of permanent immigration the cultivation of the country shows hardly any increase since the annexation of Pegu; from 1854-55 to 1867-68 there was an increase of 43,736 acres only. It has been asserted by many that the Bengali will not settle here because he dislikes the capitation tax, but we doubt it. The real reason we believe to be that he cannot induce his family to come with him. Though, if a good road had been constructed years ago the tide of emigration would imperceptibly have crept along it, and the Bengali would, so to say, have woke up some morning to find that he was an Arakanese. Easy communication of some sort between the two districts is required: a canal is impossible, or nearly so, and the next best thing is a good road, if not a light railroad; were either constructed, we feel sure that the land opened out would soon repay the Government. As put by Mr Kirkwood, the district of Akyab as well as Cox's Bazaar subdivision is a Government estate, and it is the duty of the landlord to improve that estate. This can be best done by opening out the country in such a way that the dense population of Chittagong

(600 to the square mile) shall be spread over these areas where the population is all but *nil.*

GOVERNMENT FINANCE FOR RAILWAY WORKS.

'Arakan News,' 17th November 1877.

We have on several late occasions drawn attention to the evident desire of Government to encourage the construction of provincial railways, and we particularly referred to a circular letter by Colonel Fraser, chief engineer to the Government of the N.W. Provinces, pointing out the terms on which Government were prepared to work. It is proposed that they should be constructed by funds raised in the districts which are to benefit by them, the residents thereof being invited to subscribe for the shares. On these the Government are to guarantee 4 per cent interest. This is with the view of giving the local subscribers an interest in the local work, and to discourage the construction of any work but what the subscribers acquainted with the localities could recommend as necessary and likely to pay. The reason given is satisfactory in theory so far as it goes, but how will it work when put in practice? It is said the shares are to be transferable by the holders, and we cannot see how they could be otherwise—then we would ask, Is it likely that shareholders who can readily make 12 per cent out of their money, and various higher rates, according to the security, up to 30 or 40 per cent, will be content to hold on to the 4 per cent when they can do so much better? The subject of borrowing in India, either for railways or other public works, is so clearly dealt with by the 'Friend of India and Statesman,' that we cannot do better than transfer our contemporaries' remarks to our columns, and we would ask our readers to consider them carefully. It will be seen from these that, in the negotiation of the late loan, the Government have lost 5 per cent by raising it in India, and this would have been saved had it been issued in England. Again, in the present state of exchange, the money being required in India, it could have been brought out at a premium of about 12 per cent, so that Government would have made a clear gain of 17 per cent. Our special object in directing attention to this is to apply it to a project in this

quarter which has long held fire, but which, having the hearty approval of all local authorities, we see no reason why it should be longer delayed, and we trust it may be expected shortly to take some definite shape and action. We allude to the construction of a railway to connect Akyab with Chittagong, to extend in time to districts farther to the north. Instead of insisting that the money should be raised in the province, or even a portion of it, as it would be impossible to raise the whole, let the loan be negotiated in England: the saving thereby, as pointed out above, would pay four years' interest, during which the work could be finished without any charge for interest being added to the cost, as was the case in most of the first guaranteed railways. Suppose the line to extend for 200 miles, this, taken at the cost given by Colonel Fraser—£5000 per mile —would require a million sterling, or in Indian currency a hundred lakhs. This may appear a large sum, but consider the object that is to be gained by its outlay. Last week we referred to an article in the October number of the 'Calcutta Review' by Mr Kirkwood, formerly collector of Chittagong, in which he showed that the population in the northern part of that division was about 600 to the square mile, while in the southern part bordering on Arakan it was only about 160. Here in Akyab we have a still smaller percentage—say about 26; while the unoccupied lands are rich, and suitable for the cultivation of any produce—say tea, coffee, cotton, tobacco, indigo, &c. Now the principal object of the railway at first would be to spread the dense population of the northern parts of Chittagong over its southern and less occupied lands, and also over the rich wastes of Arakan. To do this should be the interest of the proprietors of the soil, and it seems unaccountable that they should not long ere this have taken steps to accomplish this desirable result. The Government are the proprietors, and surely they will not longer delay doing what must speedily increase their revenue. Have the line of railway constructed, and the land will soon be brought under cultivation, and revenue flow in. With this in prospect, why should Government stick at the question where the money comes from? To get it in the cheapest and readiest market should certainly be the interest of Government as well as the country, and we should say, therefore, that it should be at once admitted that a loan for the

Arakan and Chittagong Railway should be raised in England. Whether this should be done by Government itself or by the intervention of a company is a question, but it is one which should not take long to decide. That settled, the loan authorised, there should be nothing to prevent the survey of the line, and its construction being begun at once. We therefore hope we shall soon see our public coming forward eager for the adoption of the financial policy we here indicate, and we could then look upon the line as an accomplished fact.

As regards the benefit of railways generally, and the necessity for their further extension, we would refer to the speech of Lord George Hamilton, which will be found in another column.

Lord George Hamilton on the Famine and our Future Course.

Lord George Hamilton, M.P., was present on October 5 at the Middlesex Agricultural dinner, and responded to the toast of the "County Members."

After discoursing on the subject of the famine in India, Lord George said:—

"As to the future, we must try to put in force in India gradually the same principle of local and financial responsibility which have worked so well here. Not the least of the dangers to which famines expose India is the revival of futile and extravagant schemes for their prevention. We are now asked, Why have we not spent thirty millions more on irrigation and less on railways? The answer is obvious and conclusive. We have found, by bitter experience, that when irrigation works are built the people will not take the water during the years of plenty, and in consequence our irrigation works do not pay. If they do not by voluntary effort repay, you must either lose heavily on them annually or impose compulsory water-rates. Railways, on the other hand, are not only now paying well, but they have developed to an extraordinary extent the trade and prosperity of India, diminished our military expenditure, and it is by their agency alone we have kept people alive during the last two famines. If there had been no railways in Madras many millions of people would have died this year.

"It is not by a gigantic and unremunerative outlay that we can hope to reduce the ravages of drought. Let us pursue the course upon which the Indian Government have entered. Let us increase in every way the facilities of communication, extend the system of financial decentralisation, increase the responsibility of local authorities, afford facilities to them of constructing tanks, reservoirs, and other local public works, improve by every means our system of land tenure, and rescue as far as we can our peasantry from the clutches of the money-lenders. By such means we shall store up in every locality a self-dependence and wealth during times of plenty which will enable us to meet every recurring famine with less misery to the people and less cost to the Government."

Railways for Arakan.

'Arakan News,' 24th November 1877.

We have much pleasure in calling attention to the proceedings of an influential meeting of the leading natives of Akyab held during the past week to take into consideration the necessity for some measures being adopted for the opening up of the country by means of roads or railways. The proceedings speak for themselves, and we hope that the inhabitants of the country, having taken up the subject, will have the perseverance to go on with it till their desired object is attained.

It will be seen that the resolutions passed at the meeting point to the necessity of the communications required, the result to be anticipated for in their construction, and the conclusion to represent these matters to the Government of India through the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah. Of course all such matters must be passed through the Commissioner of the division, and the non-allusion to this formality was the desire to condense the proceedings as much as possible, taking it for granted the usual etiquette routine would be followed. It is known that the objects the memorialists have at heart are warmly supported by Colonel Sladen, our Commissioner, who sees the prosperity of his division would be benefited by their fulfilment in a way no other means could effect. The Chief Commissioner, as might have been expected, has also promised

his hearty support to any practical steps for the development of this rich country, which has so long lain unproductive waiting for such a move as the present, which, well supported and energetically carried through, must prove the beginning of another era in the annals of Arakan. The first era of its prosperity under British rule was very considerable, establishing the division as a valuable item in the Imperial Budget. This new era, we anticipate, will be of far more importance, and we sincerely trust the effort now made will be met by the Government in a truly liberal and enlightened spirit.[1]

Railway Extension in Eastern Bengal.

We noticed some weeks ago a projected meeting at Mymensing for the purpose of considering the question of raising capital for a light railway through that district.

We have been anxiously looking for a report of the proceedings of that meeting, and have now the satisfaction of calling attention to them. Though not very full, the paragraph we extract from the 'Englishman' is full enough for our purpose. We there read that "Mr Prestege, the agent of the Eastern Bengal Railway, was present, and on his authority the Commissioner of Dacca assured the meeting that the money for construction of the line could easily be raised in London."

From this we conclude the people of Mymensing, though *they* know, and the *Government* also know, the advantage of having a railway as proposed, are as disinclined to give their money at 4 per cent, when they can employ it far more profitably in other business and to better account, as we, or the residents of any other district can be, where money is scarce and dear. We can confirm what the Commissioner on Mr Prestege's assurance said, that under a guarantee of 4 per cent from Government any amount of money could be got from London for the construction of approved lines of railway in this country, and that therefore those who are now taking the initiative for the furtherance of railways in this division must be prepared to contribute towards the construction by taking up shares according to their means. They may be satisfied that the full amount can be got in England on moderate terms; they need not,

[1] This fell to the ground for want of encouragement!

therefore, exercise themselves with the phantom often exhibited by Government as a plausible excuse for the construction of many much-desired works of utility—that there is no money for the purpose. From the first we considered it a very great mistake, and an instance of very short-sighted policy, to endeavour to construct all the lines of railway required in India from yearly allotments from surplus revenue. Where are they now? After the enormous expenditure on account of the late famine, where is the surplus revenue to be found? Railway and other recuperative works are constructed for the benefit of the country: the longer they are delayed in execution, the longer is the return in coming in; contrariwise, the sooner and quicker they are made, the earlier will Government realise an increase of revenue. Take the proposed railway from Akyab to Chittagong; should it be left till a percentage of surplus revenue can complete it, we may in all safety say it would be made within the next decade or two;[1] whereas if a bold and safe policy is pursued, and the whole money for its construction at once provided on reasonable terms, it could be commenced in separate sections, and the whole completed within a very short period, and the returns begin to come in so much the earlier. It is not the returns from the railway alone that must be looked to. The increase of land revenue which will undoubtedly flow in, and the general increase of trade, must be taken into account. Another matter must be taken into account. *Every rupee taken from the inhabitants for railways or other works, curtails their means of benefiting by the works, and so developing the country.* Trade cannot be carried on without funds, and the more money left available in the country must increase it so much the more. An undoubted authority writing on the subject says: "This would prove to be a work of great public utility, and must in time be especially beneficial to this division of British Burmah. The indirect gain to Government by immigrants who would flock into Arakan from Chittagong would be very great. Large wastes would be cultivated, and our export trade probably double itself in the course of a single decade." "As I have said, the work is doubtless one of great public importance and utility as regards the future of

[1] Fifteen years have now passed and it is not made, and so far as Government shows signs, no immediate prospect of its being undertaken—1892.

Arakan, and as such deserves the support and encouragement of all those who have at heart the prosperity of Arakan." So think those who have taken the initiative and have formed themselves into a committee for the furtherance of the work, and it will rest entirely with the Government whether *they* will show that they "have at heart the prosperity of Arakan."

Here these collected articles end. The ravages of white ants and climatic influences have destroyed all vestiges of their continuation; but the stern fact remains, that nothing has been done, and the country remains *in statu quo*, without roads or railways, without more than natural unassisted development—1892.

SECOND CAMPAIGN

FOR

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ARAKAN

PROFESSOR SEDGEWICK

On Public and Private Management of Business.

"Comparison of even the existing experience of public management of business with private competitive management forces the conclusion that the latter secures an intensity of energy and vigilance, an eager inventiveness in turning new knowledge and new opportunities to account, a freedom and flexibility in adapting industrial methods to new needs and conditions, a salutary continual expurgation of indolence and unthrift, which public management cannot be expected to reveal in the present condition of social morality, and for the loss of which it cannot compensate except under specially favourable conditions."

SECOND CAMPAIGN.

LETTER to the Most Honourable the MARQUIS OF SALISBURY.

LONDON, 17*th Sept.* 1888.

MY LORD MARQUIS,—In 1874-75, when your lordship held the seals of the Indian Office, I took the liberty of addressing you on the Burmah-China trade-route question — a question which at one time had become stale, but now, necessarily under altered circumstances, demands prominent importance.

In one of my letters to your lordship, referring to the concentration of the trade of our Trans-Gangetic Provinces, and the trade expected from China *viâ* Mandalay, at one port on the east side of the Bay of Bengal, I said: "It may be a long look for the fulfilment of this idea, but it is one which must be followed out, and the sooner steps are taken in the direction indicated, and encouragement given to private enterprise, the sooner will the fruits be reaped." Such fruits being the increase of revenue, and the spread of what should be the civilising influence of our rule over the savage tribes on our borders.

That the view as to the Assam trade was correct, and that the Indian Government have been alive to its importance, is shown by the railway surveys lately carried out from Assam to Chittagong. These must ultimately be continued to Akyab, the port to which my recommendations have pointed.

Since then, the annexation of Upper Burmah has advanced the question from one of discussion to one of practical necessity. Considering its effects on the finances of our Indian empire, I

doubt not the development of Burmah holds a prominent place in the eyes of Government, and I take leave to hand you a *brochure* bearing on the subject, respectfully asking you to give it your consideration. I also enclose copies of letters on the subject I have of this date addressed to the Right Honourable Viscount Cross, Secretary of State for India, and the Most Honourable the Marquis of Lansdowne, Viceroy of India elect.

My object has been to show the shortest route as the *debouchure* of trade from Trans-Gangetic India, Burmah, and China; and bearing on this, I reproduce here the following remarks from the 'Times'—which may have already attracted your lordship's attention—reviewing the presidential address in the Geographical section of the British Association, at present in session at Bath: "When and so long as they [commercial nations] have complied with the conditions upon which commerce exists, of the shortest and safest routes from the most productive grounds to the most eager markets, they have in turn been adopted as purveyors. All that commerce is inflexibly determined to exact is, that the torch shall never go out,—that it shall continually be carried forward." As handmaid, the religion and benign influence of England must go hand in hand, and be spread.

Knowing the many pressing calls on your lordship on other important matters, I feel reluctant to trespass on you with this; but the speedy development of the resources of Burmah, which are capable of wonderful expansion, to its becoming not only a paying possession but a bright gem in the British crown, is of such importance that it will, I trust, be accepted as my apology. —With the highest respect, &c., &c.

Acknowledgment.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 22*d Sept.* 1888.

DEAR SIR,—I am directed by the Marquis of Salisbury to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 17th instant.

In reply, his lordship desires me to express to you his sincere thanks for kindly sending him a book on Indo-Burmah-China communications.—I remain, dear sir, faithfully yours, SIDNEY GREVILLE.

J. OGILVY HAY, Esq.

LETTER to the Right Honourable VISCOUNT CROSS, Secretary of State for India.

LONDON, 17*th Sept.* 1888.

MY LORD,—In 1874-75, when the Most Honourable the Marquis of Salisbury held the seals of the Indian Office, I took the liberty of communicating with him on the subject of Burmah-China trade-routes. This at one time had become a stale question, but the annexation of Upper Burmah has advanced it from one of discussion to one of practical necessity. Considering its effects on the finances of our Indian empire, I doubt not the development of Burmah holds a very prominent place in your department, and I take leave to hand you herewith a small paper bearing on the subject, respectfully asking your lordship to give it your attentive consideration.

Having had a long connection with our Burmah provinces, I feel great interest in their progress and development. It is now some years since I left that country.

I am quite aware that a guarantee for railway works is not to be expected from Government, but I think some workable scheme might be initiated whereby public support could be obtained in aid of the work, which the Government must see necessary to make Burmah the paying possession its resources are capable of effecting.

I beg to enclose copies of letters I have addressed to his lordship the Marquis of Salisbury, and his Excellency the Viceroy of India elect, the Marquis of Lansdowne, on the subject.

I would respectfully ask if you could spare a moment to give me an interview on the subject at your early convenience. The season for work in the field in Burmah is fast coming on, and a year's operations could be effected by early arrangements.—I have the honour, &c.

Acknowledgment.

P.W. 1885. INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S.W., 18*th October* 1888.

SIR,—I am desired by the Secretary of State for India to acknowledge your letter of the 17th September 1888, on the

subject of the possible extension of railways in Burmah, together with the pamphlet on the same subject accompanying your letter.

I am, in reply, to express the thanks of Viscount Cross for the same. His lordship is not at present able to appoint a day for a personal interview on the subject, but at some future time it may be possible for his lordship to see you.—I am, &c.,

J. A. GODLEY.

J. OGILVY HAY, Esq.

LETTER to the Most Honourable the MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE, Viceroy and Governor-General of India Elect.

LONDON, 17*th Sept.* 1888.

MY LORD MARQUIS,—On the eve of your departure for your high and important position in India, I reluctantly take leave to trespass on you for a moment, to engage your consideration to a subject which I doubt not will occupy much of your attention during the term of your Viceroyalty. I refer to the development of the province of Burmah, as affecting the revenues of our Indian empire.

According to the details given by Sir John Gorst in his recent Indian Budget statement, it is expected that so far on as 1896 there will be a yearly deficit from Upper Burmah of Rs. 340,000, and under these circumstances I cannot but think your Government would welcome any satisfactory aid from the public that would enable it to accelerate the progress of our new possession, to make it, what it undoubtedly is capable of becoming, a paying province. With this impression, I have addressed letters to the Most Honourable the Marquis of Salisbury, and the Right Honourable Viscount Cross, Secretary for India, of which I enclose copies for your lordship's information. I have at the same time forwarded to those noblemen copies of a *brochure* I have just prepared on "Indo-Burmah-China Railway Connections," the prosecution of which must tend materially to the desired advancement of Burmah. One object I also had in view was to show the best and shortest route to the sea for the outlet of trade, not only from Burmah-China but from our provinces to the east of the Ganges and

Brahmapootra. I herewith forward a copy for your lordship's acceptance, begging that you will give it your considerate attention.

Were it not trespassing too much on your time, which must necessarily be fully occupied in arranging for your early departure, I would ask to be favoured with an interview on the subject. Waiting your convenience could such be arranged,—I have the honour to be, &c., &c.

Acknowledgment.

LANSDOWNE HOUSE, BERKELEY SQUARE,
Sept. 21, 1888.

SIR,—I am desired by the Marquis of Lansdowne to acknowledge, with his best thanks, the receipt of your letter and enclosures of the 17th inst., which he has read with great interest.

Lord Lansdowne regrets that, as he leaves for Scotland to-morrow, he will be unable to have the pleasure of seeing you personally. He wishes me to assure you, however, that the subject to which you have referred will receive his attentive consideration.—I am, &c. HENRY STREATFIELD.

J. OGILVY HAY, Esq.

THE RAID ON THE CHITTAGONG FRONTIER.

To the EDITOR of the 'Scotsman.' *December* 27, 1888.

SIR,—I have read with interest the paper in your issue of the 25th inst. under the above heading. The raids which have taken place during the past year on the Arakan and Chittagong frontiers will necessitate one of those punitive expeditions which, though small, are so expensive. While Upper Burmah was in the hands of its native rulers, there was this difficulty in dealing with these frontier tribes, that if we sent an expedition against them they retired before us into their fastnesses or into Burmese territory, where it was not politic for us to follow them. In their fastnesses they had an advantage over us in their knowledge of the country, where, while we were exposed to their attacks, they were completely protected. Upper

Burmah being now under our rule, these tribes are situated in the heart of our possessions which surround them, this locality forming about the shape of an egg, the one end being the junction of Chittagong, Arakan, and Upper Burmah, the southern end being the junction of the latter with Assam. It is impossible that this spot can remain independent, as it is under irresponsible chiefs, and must sooner or later be brought under our sway—and the sooner the better. Otherwise we will always be subject to a recurrence of these raids; and if we are now going to the trouble and expense of an expedition, we should at once make an end of the business by bringing these "ferocious and savage tribes" into entire submission to us. This cannot be done in what remains of this season, but our troops being once on the ground, should not be withdrawn till the work is fully accomplished. A good sanitary position would doubtless be found in the hills, where the inactive season could be safely spent.

In an article in your paper of 14th September, you were so good as refer to a *brochure* which I had just issued, under the title of 'Indo-Burmah-China Railway Connections, a pressing Necessity;' but your remarks were confined to the first part of my paper, the "connection of Burmah with China," advocating the Bhamo route as more advantageous to our possessions than the Moulmein-Siam route proposed by Messrs Colquhoun and Hallett. Since then some letters have passed on the subject in the columns of the 'Homeward Mail,' which may throw some light on it to those who take an interest in it. I would now ask you to be so good as refer to the second chapter of my little work as to connection of Burmah with India, where you will find some account of what has been done to this end. An attempt was made in the early part of this year to effect a communication with Burmah from Assam. This had been tried on several previous occasions, but unsuccessfully; and though this last expedition partially effected its object, it was checked at its outset by the Naga and Singphoo tribes (see p. 40), who refused to give it their assistance. I have said, "partially effected its object," as it failed in effecting a junction with an expedition from the Burmah side sent to meet it, this latter having been interrupted in their march by large bodies of Kachyens. Colonel Woodthorpe, of the Indian Survey De-

partment, in a paper read at the Royal Geographical Society on the 17th of this month, giving an account of his explorations in the Chindwin Valley, referred to our relations with the Naga and Singphoo tribes, showing that in time past our Government had been somewhat remiss in not opening up intercourse more freely with those tribes, and we were now reaping the fruits of this remissness, as when we now wanted a passage through their country we found them obstructive. A remark much to the same effect, as regards the Lushais and Shendoos on the Arakan and Chittagong frontiers, will be found at p. 36 of the *brochure* before referred to.

Until we can get a position in their very midst, the most effectual way to deal with these tribes would be the construction of a railway by the shortest route from Arakan to Upper Burmah. This would form a basis from which to work northwards in bringing these tribes under our civilising influences. This is as important a matter as any that can be considered in connection with our under-populated province of Burmah and our over-populous districts of Bengal, from the latter of which it is proposed to migrate settlers to grants in Burmah. Doubtless it will be said the country is too rugged to attempt such a work, but engineering skill can overcome all obstacles; and considering the importance of the work, both as regards its effects on the tribes and the facilities it will give to carry out the immigration scheme into Burmah, all obstacles to its accomplishment must be removed. This is the line, also, which will lead to the best outlet for all China-Burmah trade on the Bay of Bengal.

This deserves special attention, and I ask this at your hands in your columns,—I am, &c., OLD ARAKAN.

EXTRACT from VISCOUNT CROSS'S Address at Oldham, 25th Jan. 1889.

He had spoken to them about railways, and he had said that he was as anxious as any one that the railways in India should be vastly extended. They must not judge whether the railways paid by the amount of return they got for their capital or the money they had expended. There was a much greater

benefit than that. The railways were opening out the country, which meant a good return in the future, since it would increase the growth of cotton and wheat, as the regions of cultivation would be put in more direct communication with the ports, and the cultivator brought into direct communication with the merchant. By the opening out of railways the general aspect of the country was changed. There were benefits to be derived from the increase in the mileage of railways which were not represented by the incomes from the railways. He hoped that he would be helped in his desire to get the railways of India much further developed. So long as he occupied his office, he would continue to press forward that policy. He hoped that all who were able to help him would do so as far as they could, by coming forward with as much capital as they could let out, and he hoped he would be able to meet them on equable terms. . . . He was doing all he could individually for the extension of railways to make it more practicable [that is, the export of wheat]. In 1873, when there was a protective duty, they had only 5000 miles of railway opened. They had now 15,000 opened.

The 'TIMES,'

when publishing the preceding the following day, referring to what was said as to the extension in the growth of wheat, remarks:—

"The reason may be found in the new and ever-increasing facilities for inland transit which the development of the railway system has brought. We are not, Lord Cross says, to measure the value of the Indian railways by the direct results which they yield. The indirect results are more valuable by far. Lord Cross therefore declares himself determined to press on the construction of new lines by every means in his power. He calls on his capitalist hearers to help him by choosing new railways in India as a medium of investment for their money. He will give them the best terms he can, in the shape, we presume, of a guarantee or of a local monopoly. If India wishes to borrow money and to construct railways for herself, the thing can be very easily done. Her credit is good, and she can draw on this country to almost any extent, and on terms

much easier than those for which her earlier loans were raised. But in whatever way the development of the Indian railway system is to be managed, *it will be from the* INDIRECT, *rather than from the* DIRECT, *profits that a return may most hopefully be sought.* The unpleasant fact is, that Indian railways do not pay in the common mercantile sense of the word, and that the newest lines, so far from being an exception to the rule, afford the most complete instances of its truth. The appeal made to the indirect profits as a set-off for the absence of direct profits is not as convincing as Lord Cross seems to assume. That a railway confers benefit on the regions which it traverses is true enough, but it is only a part of the truth. The money expended upon its construction has not fallen from the clouds. It has either been extracted under a guarantee from the pockets of private adventurers, or it has been borrowed by the State. It must be paid back equally in both cases by an addition in some form to the taxes. It has thus simply been diverted from some other use which would have been found for it, and which would have given direct as well as indirect profits if no such diversion had been made, and if the money had been allowed to fructify in the ordinary way of business. The good done by Indian railways has on some points been unquestionable. They have added not a little to the defensive strength of the country by the facilities which they have given for the rapid movement of troops, and they have made it easy during a local famine to pour food betimes into the regions most urgently in need of it. The recurrence of such an event as the great Orissa famine has thus become wellnigh impossible. Never again shall we hear of stores of food ready and waiting transport, and of hundreds of thousands of men and women and children dying meanwhile from starvation, for no other reason than because the means of transport were not then to be found. But when Lord Cross urges the construction of more railways as a benefit to India from a strictly financial point of view, we cannot forget that there are two sides to the question, and that an investment unremunerative in any direct way will probably prove, on a complete analysis of results, to have been unremunerative all round."

Following Lord Cross's address at Oldham, Sir Juland Danvers read a paper on "Progress of Railways and Trade in India," before the Society of Arts, on the 29th March 1889, reported in the 'Times' of 1st April, from which the following extracts are taken:—

"Some noble structures [bridges] had been built since 1876. Though progress had been considerable, however, there was no cause for boasting. More railways were required, and it was to be hoped that private interest would provide what was wanted. Government had done much, but the taxes of the country could not stand a larger demand upon them, and therefore private enterprise would probably be encouraged by all possible facilities short of pecuniary aid. A parliamentary committee in 1884 considered the evidence in favour of a more rapid extension of railway communication to be conclusive; and the Government thought that now the time had come when projects of this kind should be taken up in a purely enterprising spirit. Their refusal to grant a guarantee arose from no indifference to railway extension. Several new lines were in contemplation by companies unsupported by Government [*where are they?*]. . . . These defensive works, too, would not only fulfil their primary object, but would bring with them all the civilising influences and material advantages which railways always conferred on countries when introduced for the first time. Some pecuniary return for the outlay might also be expected from the traffic. . . . It appeared to be inevitable that the competition already begun would increase, and this was not to be regretted if the competition was within due bounds. . . . If a State guarantee was given, control by the Government was necessary; but an agency could be so constituted that while State interests were protected, actual management might be conducted separately. With regard to improvements in machinery and new inventions of any kind, the Government looked upon this country as the proper field for experiments. The results obtained had been obtained by the pursuance of a bold but cautious policy, and he ventured to think that greater results might be expected in the future, and that railways would be the sheet-anchor of Indian finance. . . . He turned to the question of trade, remarking that from

railways to trade seemed a natural transition, for the interests of the two were interwoven. The present position of India was due to trade, and railways had had a very important share in producing the commercial prosperity of recent years, though other agencies had also been at work. There could be no doubt that the commercial prosperity of the country and the success of railways went hand in hand. The lecturer concluded by saying that railways had been a most important factor in promoting the commerce, civilisation, and material prosperity of the country, standing out as a benefit accepted and used as an unmixed good by all classes."

LORD CROSS to the MANCHESTER CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, 31st May 1889.

The efforts of the Government to extend railway communication in India, whether by the direct agency of the State or indirectly by the grant of assistance to companies, are inseparably connected with the financial condition of the empire, and are limited by the necessity of avoiding fresh taxation. Viscount Cross is, however, fully sensible of the importance of the subject to which you have drawn his attention, and is most desirous of aiding the expansion of the Indian railway system in any way compatible with the conditions referred to.

LETTER to Colonel WOODTHORPE, R.E., which reached his Agents after he had returned to India, and possibly miscarried, as it was not acknowledged.

LONDON, *5th Feb.* 1889.

I listened with interest to the paper you read last month at the "Geographical" on your explorations in the Chindwin Valley; but there was one point to which you made no allusion, and I take the liberty of writing to you on the subject. I allude to the capabilities of the country for cultivation, and the products for which the soil is most suited. You said truly that little had been done by our Government to establish friendly relations with the tribes on the borders of Assam and Burmah. The same may be said of all the country south to Arakan, and the consequence is the raids there have been on

the Chittagong and Arakan frontiers, requiring the expeditions which are now in the field in those quarters. All information as to the routes to connect Burmah with India must be of interest, with the view of developing our new possession. From Phayre's History and other sources, I was aware an attempt was made during the first Burmese war to take part of the force in Arakan under General Morrison, into Burmah, but it was unsuccessful. These authorities seemingly overlooked the fact that after the signing of the Treaty of Yandaboo, a Madras regiment—the 18th—marched from that place by the Aeng Pass, and embarked at what was then known as Amherst Harbour, which I think must be identified with what is now known as Kyouk Phyoo, on the island of Ramree, or a harbour near there. I lately got from the military secretary to the Madras Government a copy of the report the commanding officer made of this march, which was effected in the month of March 1826.

Some years ago I was in communication with the late Mr Jenkins as to his journey towards the Patkoi Mountains, and received from him an account of it. I have noted that you also explored that route. Has there any account of your expedition been published? I am more particularly interested in the southern routes, and would like to see a route opened to Burmah from Chittagong or Arakan, and am anxious to get as much information as possible as to the capabilities of the intervening country. If you can aid me in this I will be much obliged. I conclude that your late journey extended south between 22° and 23°, and I would be glad of any remarks you can give me as to the country on these parallels, or as far south as possible. I lately published a small paper on Indo-Burmah-China railway connections, a copy of which herewith I beg your acceptance of, and that you will excuse my troubling you with the present.—I am, &c.

Note.—I have been able to gather little information as to how these hill tracts between Burmah and Munneepore, Chittagong and Arakan, could be utilised. The Lushais, Shendoos, and Chins, in their migratory way, doubtless cultivate a little rice, cotton, sesamum, and tobacco, but something definite needs to be known on the subject.

LETTER to an Indian Official.

13th Feb. 1889.

With reference to our conversation some time ago as to a connection between Arakan and Upper Burmah, I submit a letter which I purpose sending to the India Office.

If, as I understood you, you seemed to think there were two objections to my proposals—first, that it would go through the Chin country, where the surveyors and constructors of the road, and the settlers on the grant, would require a regiment at their backs to protect them; and, second, that the Government had already had anything but a satisfactory experience of capitalists from home going into certain "uncertain" operations, instancing the Mutlah railway, and some of the canals and irrigation works in Orissa, and other districts in the Madras Presidency,—you at the same time admitted the wonderful effect that would be produced on the country and its wandering tribes by the railway which would be forced through — I say forced through, as certainly one from Arakan to Upper Burmah would be. I take this view of it. Doubtless, at the present moment surveyors and others would require some protection; but, by conciliatory measures, I believe the tribes would soon see the benefits of intercourse with us, and see it to be their advantage to assist us, being remunerated for their labour, and before long be civilised, and settle quietly down to cultivate the land more regularly than at present, the produce of which would, by the railway, find an outlet and market. (An officer who was long in the Arakan hill tracts, and had a good deal of intercourse with the tribes occupying the route proposed to be explored, lately wrote me, "There would be no bother with the hill tribes.")

How much land is at present perfectly waste and useless; and when, without some extraordinary exertions, is this likely to be utilised? Then as to the extent of grant, the Government should not play the dog in the manger. They can make no use of it themselves, and therefore the concession should be unstinted. This scheme is very distinct and exceptional—not like Sir Theodore Hope's proposals for the Assam-Chittagong line, which are made on a known basis. He has the survey and estimates ready to work on. My proposals would be, on know-

ing the terms the Government would give: on that security I would form a syndicate. I cannot go to the public or to any capitalist till I know what can be offered to them. This, I truly believe, would tend more to the development of Upper Burmah, and its connection with India, than any other scheme. It is possible General Dickens's or General Babbage's routes, *vid* Munneepore, might be easier[1] and less expensive, but more than one advantage would be found in my scheme.

If there is any publication you can refer me to, either Government reports, if available, or other sources, giving any idea of the soil, or growth-trees, &c., of the country between Arakan and Burmah, I would be glad to know. I have had conversations with Mr St John, who was the first superintendent of the Arakan hill tracts, and afterwards Deputy Commissioner of Akyab, also with his successor, Colonel Gwynne Hughes, but I could not learn much beyond their saying the tribes cultivated a little rice, cotton, sesamum, and tobacco. The Government experiment of tobacco cultivation in Arakan has not, I think, been fortunate. The first superintendent of the plantation was rather a failure, and died before anything came of it. Perhaps the natives, if properly instructed, might get on better with this article themselves than with European interference.—I am, &c.

To the Same.

15*th March* 1889.

Some days ago I had an acknowledgment of my letter to the Secretary of State, in which he says he will be prepared to submit to the Government of India any reasonable proposal, "accompanied by satisfactory proof of financial support." Of course this latter can only be done in a general way till it is known what terms the Government will give to make it a tangible security. To-day I have a letter from a friend who, in looking over some old papers, has come across some of my letters in '74. The copies I sent to the Secretary of State at the time will show that the views I express now are the same as then. Had these been acted on, we might have seen some further advance. However, better late than never; and if

[1] Subsequent explorations, and the experience of the troops during the Chin-Lushai expedition, show this would not be the case.—1892.

Government will only accord me facilities, I will work with a will, though now past my prime for work.—I am, &c.

LETTER to the Right Honourable VISCOUNT CROSS, G.C.B., Secretary of State for India.

No. 2. LONDON, *14th Feb.* 1889.

I had the honour to receive letter P.W. 1885 of 18th October in acknowledgment of mine of 17th September. In it I was informed that it might be possible for you at a future time to favour me with an interview.

Having read with interest your late address at Oldham on the subject of the prosecution of railway works in India, I take leave to ask your attention to the subject of my previous letter —viz., railway communication in Burmah—and to make the following remarks.

You expressed the hope that the increase in the export of wheat from India would be more rapid, and that India would speedily take a place before America in that article of commerce. It must be known to you as a fact that the great expansion of the railway system in America was almost entirely owing to the concessions made by the Government of that country, in the shape of grants of land, which were rapidly brought into cultivation: the railways facilitating the immigration of settlers and the transport of its produce. It cannot be denied that there was much abuse of these concessions, but this does not detract from the principle, or the advantages of these grants; and I would ask if this principle could not be advantageously applied to the country in the development of which I am more particularly interested?—all safeguards which the experiences of the American Government suggest, being taken to avoid the abuses which there prevailed. Burmah, as you are aware, is the country I refer to, and the district, the yet unexplored country between Arakan and Upper Burmah. Besides the development of the country, the effects of the exploration, survey, and settlement of that district could not but have a salutary and permanent influence on the wild tribes which are at the present time giving the Indian Government so much trouble.

'From the report ('Times,' 26th January) of your speech I learn that you expressed the hope that you would be helped in your desire to get the railways of India much further developed during your tenure of office; and that all who could would come forward with substantial help, and that you would be able to meet them on *equable terms.* As it has been stated in Parliament that "there was at present no intention of guaranteeing any more railways in India,"[1] I would respectfully ask in what way you would meet capitalists—if by grants of land, or in what other way?

I am aware that offers have been sent in to Government for the construction of the *surveyed* line to connect Assam with the port of Chittagong, and I believe also of a line *vid* Munneepore into Burmah. As to the former, from my knowledge of the capabilities of the port of Chittagong, and also of the port of Akyab, further to the south, I have no hesitation in asserting that if the railway reaches Chittagong it must and will be extended to Akyab, that port offering better facilities for a large amount of shipping. I have long advocated this line of connection with Assam for the development of the trade of Eastern Bengal, and in 1875 published a map drawing attention to that line, as also to the utilisation of the port of Akyab as the nearest outlet for trade from Upper Burmah,—this latter, of course, necessitating the construction of a railway to connect Arakan with Burmah. It has always been said that this would be a most difficult and expensive work, and hence cold water has been thrown on it; but nothing can *positively* be said on the subject without exploration and survey, the country at present being a *terra incognita.* That this work would have a wonderful effect cannot be doubted, and the possibility of its accomplishment deserves serious consideration.

In comparing this work with that of the Assam-Chittagong line, and the terms on which it may be undertaken, the following facts should be taken account of. This latter line has been surveyed at the expense of the Government, and the probable cost has been estimated; there is already traffic ready for it to start with, as shown in a brochure lately published by the Commissioner of Chittagong; and it will through its length traverse a *comparatively settled country.* None of these advan-

[1] Sir John E. Gorst in Parliament, 5th March 1888.

tages apply to the line from Akyab to Upper Burmah. This line has yet to be surveyed without any remote, far less any approximate, knowledge of the difficulties that may have to be surmounted; there is no present traffic on the route; it is through a perfectly unexplored and wild country, without any inhabitants besides the few wandering tribes to be met with. With all these drawbacks and disadvantages, I feel perfectly confident that, as it would be of incalculable benefit in settling our frontier, tending much to the development of Burmah and its connection with India, it only requires the Government to hold out liberal terms and the work will be taken in hand. When I say liberal terms, I write on the supposition that a land grant might be the only inducement offered by Government; and seeing that the land is perfectly waste, and will continue so till doomsday without some extraordinary means are taken to open it up, Government should not restrict the extent of grant to facilitate such an important work. This work will also further the Government scheme of emigrating the surplus population of Bengal into Burmah by a less circuitous route than that proposed *vid* Assam—a district also requiring labour—and where emigrants might be intercepted on their way to Burmah, and induced to settle.

I would, in conclusion, take leave to mention that my connection with Arakan and its port of Akyab has existed for the last thirty-five years—that I had the honour to hold a commission as an honorary magistrate (of the first class) and justice of the peace for the greater part of that time, having received it during the Chief Commissionership of the late Sir Arthur P. Phayre (the first C.C.), and only resigned it last year, as shown by the annexed copy of letter from the Secretary to the C.C. of Burmah, dated 11th December 1888. This will explain how I feel so interested in the further development of Burmah, and particularly of the port of Akyab, the rice-trade of which I did not a little to promote, and can thus speak of its capabilities and advantages from personal knowledge.

May I ask that copy of this letter may be forwarded to his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council; and trusting that I may be favoured by you with an early reply, I have the honour, &c., &c.

Reply.

P.W. 303. INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S.W.,
6th March 1889.

SIR,—I am directed by the Secretary of State for India to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th ulto., stating your views with regard to railway extension in Burmah, and making inquiry as to the nature of the terms which would be granted to capitalists who might be willing to embark money in the construction of new lines.

In reply, I am to acquaint you that the Secretary of State will be prepared to consult the Government of India with regard to any reasonable proposal (not involving the guarantee of interest by the State) for railway extension in Burmah that might be submitted to him, accompanied by proofs of adequate financial support; but as the terms would depend upon the particular circumstances of each case, he is unable to state more precisely what assistance would be granted to railway promoters in Burmah generally.—I am, &c.,

JOHN E. GORST.

J. OGILVY HAY, Esq.

LETTER to the UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

No. 3. LONDON, *30th March* 1889.

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter P.W. 303 of 6th March.

At the same time, I would take leave to say that it would have been some satisfaction had it been intimated in what direction aid might be given.

I can understand that "the terms would depend upon the particular circumstances of each case;" but when it is required that proposals should be "accompanied by proofs of adequate financial support," it must be evident that financial houses would desire to know something of the nature of the security they were likely to have before committing themselves. I am at present waiting for information I have applied for from the Department of the Interior at Washington, on receipt of which

I will formulate a proposal for his lordship's consideration. Meantime, I would say that my scheme would be based . . .

It is with pleasure I note that a Government official, prominent in the Railway Department, is reported to have said in a public address last night "that more railways were required, and it was to be hoped private enterprise would provide what was wanted. Private enterprise would probably be encouraged by the grant of all possible facilities short of pecuniary aid. The Government thought the time had come when projects of this kind should be taken in a purely enterprising spirit."

In this spirit I bring my proposals forward, and I trust that as I have had them before Government for the last fifteen years, they will now be received with consideration, and be crowned with success. Doubtless the letters I had the honour to address to the Most Honourable the Marquis of Salisbury, then Secretary for India, under dates 18th and 27th August 1874, are to be found in the archives of your Secretariat. I would respectfully ask your reference to the same and their accompaniments, as bearing specially on the subject in hand, the latter also bearing on the present expedition from Chittagong against the Lushais.

I would beg here to quote the following from a communication lately received from an officer of Government, whose opinion is of weight: "It is needless to say how valuable such a line (Akyab to Upper Burmah) would be to Government, but for railway traffic purposes it would be fearfully handicapped by the steep inclines on either side of the Yomas.[1] However, in these days, railways are constructed in countries quite as difficult physically as that through which either of your proposed connections would pass. Of course the construction of any such line of railway will be very costly." Hence the necessity of an adequate concession to meet the requirements of any financial house of position.

I need not say that the season for survey in the country in question is from about October to March, and early arrangements for operations in the coming season would save a year.

Begging his lordship's special consideration to this matter, and an early acknowledgment,—I have the honour, &c., &c.

[1] A reconnaissance last year shows such is not the case—1892.

Reply.

P.W. 661. INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S.W.,
30th April 1889.

SIR,—I am directed by the Secretary of State to acknowledge receipt of your further letter, dated 30th March 1889, on the subject of extension of railways in Burmah.

In reply, I am desired to say that any detailed proposals, including that involving the grant of land, which you may desire to make in view to such extension, will receive full consideration from Viscount Cross in Council, but that it will of course be necessary for his lordship to consult the Government of India on the subject of any such proposals in the first instance.

A copy of this correspondence will accordingly be forwarded to that Government.—I am, &c., JOHN E. GORST.

J. OGILVY HAY, Esq.

To a PARTNER in a London Financial House.

3d April 1889.

I thank you for your letter of yesterday, and feel obliged by your having placed it before ——, as this settles the matter so far as they are concerned. I note that his opinion is strongly opposed to the policy of attempting to enter China by way of Burmah. He may, however, be assured that it will not only be attempted, but will be accomplished. The wedge for railways in China seems now in, and the first going in from the Burmah side will have an advantage—particularly with connections on the east side. I am still in correspondence with the Secretary of State. He (Lord Cross) in his speech at Oldham, and Sir Juland Danvers in his paper at the Society of Arts last Friday, show the anxiety of his lordship to extend railways in India—Burmah especially requires them to open it up, otherwise it will be a white elephant on their hands for years, and the scheme I would bring before them is one of which one of their chief railway officials wrote me lately: "It is needless to say how valuable such a line would be to Government. It would be costly"—hence the terms they should give should be liberal. Though I do not agree with his views or

scheme, I am glad to see Mr Holt Hallett is at present in the provinces agitating the subject, which he yesterday brought before the Chamber of Commerce at Manchester. We have now got the line open to Mandalay, and *it will go on to China.*

LETTER to an Indian Official.

15th April 1889.

At our interview on Saturday, I understood you to say you were not aware of Captain (now Major-General) Strover's report on the mineral resources of Burmah. I send it herewith. It is attached (p. 9) to letters which I addressed to the Secretary of State for India in 1874-75. From these you will see that my proposals are not of yesterday, and that in 1875 I suggested the connection which is now about to be made between Assam and the Bay of Bengal. Some of the enclosures may now be antiquated, but there may be some points in them still worthy of reference, and I can only regret that excepting the Rangoon and Prome, and the Rangoon Tounghoo and Mandalay lines, the means of communication in Burmah are not further advanced than at the date of these letters. You asked me as to the prospects for cultivation in the hills through which my proposed line would go. I have made every inquiry I can on this subject, but so far my information is almost *nil*—inquiries of officers who have been in the Arakan hill tracts, and also of the Commissioner of Arakan. (Subsequently the late Sir Edward B. Sladen wrote of the "*intervening tracts of valuable territory*"—doubtless based on information derived when Political Resident in Mandalay, and also when Commissioner of Arakan—information not possessed by a subsequent commissioner.) Colonel Woodthorpe, R.E., read a paper last January before the "Geographical" on his explorations in the Chindwin valley, but he gave no information as to the capabilities of the country for cultivation. After hearing his paper, I wrote him on the subject, but unfortunately he had left for India before my letter reached his agents, and I had no reply.[1]

I would ask your reference to a remark on p. 21 of the letters accompanying this, bearing on matters in the Lushai country, where we have at present an expedition. The Government and

[1] See p. 93.

their commanders should, of course, be better judges than I can be. It, however, strikes me that the burning of villages, reported in late telegrams, may show that vengeance has been taken; but it is hardly the way to conciliate these wild tribes, who are known to harbour very revengeful feelings for such treatment even towards their own neighbours—how much more will they resent such from foreign whites? Even in the 'Times' telegram this morning the Commissioner of Chittagong, in addressing the chiefs who had come in, threatens them with the burning of their villages. Is this a conciliatory or Christian policy in this enlightened nineteenth century? It is of a piece with the advice given by a Barukzye chief to Major Broadfoot at the time of the first Sikh campaign, who said, "You do not know how to make war. You should invite the heads to meet you, seize and kill them." In Colonel Woodthorpe's paper he alluded to the little that had been done in the way of conciliating or cultivating intercourse with the tribes on the Assam frontier. In the brochure I published last September, of which I sent you a copy, I made a remark to the same effect as to the tribes on the Arakan frontier. Had the road from Chittagong to Akyab, ordered by Lord Dalhousie so far back as 1852, been carried through, the settlers along the route would gradually have come in contact with these wild tribes, and this intercourse would have had a civilising influence over them, "paving the way for what we now require—access through their territory." There is no question as to the effects of railways, and it cannot be questioned that their influence would be more beneficial in the interest of all concerned than "fire and sword."

The Secretary of State requires my proposals to be "accompanied by proofs of adequate financial support." I have been in communication with some of the first houses in the city—bankers and contractors; but no one will take up a matter of the kind without some knowledge of the security they are to get. They all agree that much is to be done in the development of Burmah—a rich country; and that it entirely depends on whether the terms to be granted by Government are satisfactory. An engineer of authority in these matters wrote me as to my proposed line (Akyab to Mandalay): "It is needless to say how valuable such a line would be to Government."

You referred to the proposed line by the Mu Valley to Assam. Very likely that, in connection with the Assam and Chittagong line, would be very serviceable; but from their length, they cannot compare with a line over the Arakan Yoma. Government are anxious to send their surplus population in Bengal to Burmah. The "Kala-panee" is a great hindrance to that. The shortest land route should therefore be adopted. I have not the pleasure of Sir Henry Thuillier's acquaintance; but through a mutual friend I learn that he has expressed himself much in favour of my views. From his long connection with India, and his position as Surveyor-General, I consider his opinion of great weight.

On receiving a reply to my letter now before Government I would formulate a proposal for the construction of the railway, the security being . . . In a paper to-day I see the New Zealand Midland Railway in their prospectus state that they have a free grant of upwards of 2,000,000 acres of land, and for the Canadian Pacific Railway, besides a subsidy from Government of $25,000,000 in cash, they had a grant of 25,000,000 acres of land. Of course, my proposed line is nothing in extent to these; but where, as in this case, the land is waste, and, without a railway and settlers, will be so for long, Government should not hesitate at the extent of grant, or delay in granting it. The sooner the line is started, the sooner will there be a development and settlement of the country.

You will, I hope, pardon my writing at such length. I do so thus fully in the hope it may receive an impetus from your advocacy, if you approve of my views.—I am, &c.

Reply.

1*st May* 1889.

I have to thank you for your letter of 15th April, which I have read with much interest, as well as the accompaniments, which I return herewith.

EXTRACT from LETTER to an Indian Official.

10*th May* 1889.

In the last Administration Report of Burmah the following paragraph struck me: "The northern party acquired much

useful information regarding the routes through the Chin Hills to Lower Bengal." Do you know if this information has been published, or if it can be obtained? It would be very useful in preparing my scheme. I have just received a letter, from which I make the following extract: "A friend, lately arrived from Upper Burmah, tells me nobody expects the Mu Valley Railway to pay, but the C.C. is most anxious to get it complete to assist in settling a large district."

The same may be said of what I am proposing. The Administration Report further says: "The trade of the Upper Chindwin would be largely developed if there were better communications." There is no question but railways are required, and, whether they pay or not at once, should be prosecuted in all promising directions. I say of my route that, however difficult and expensive it may be, *it can be*, and it *should be*, made; and such a concession should be given as would fully remunerate the constructors.

EXTRACT from LETTER to Lieut.-General Sir HENRY L. THUILLIER.

13th May 1889.

Our mutual friend, Gordon, sent me on your letter to him of 8th, by which I was obliged, and am glad to see that you purposed discussing my proposed connection of Mandalay with the sea-coast at Akyab. As you say, it is an "awful country," but perhaps exploration and survey might reveal that the construction of a railway might not be so difficult as at present thought. I have advocated this line for the last fifteen or twenty years, and have always been met with the same cry, "It is impossible"—but such is not now in the engineer's vocabulary. The only question is expense. There is no doubt it would be an invaluable line for Government, but as a paying investment it might be long till such a result was realised. My proposal (in part) is that Government should grant sufficient land to recoup the constructors, and they can well spare some of their wastes, which, without railways and population, will long continue useless. The former would bring in the latter, and the result would be a settled country instead of a wilderness in the occupation only of wild tribes. In 1875 I published a map

showing the direction I thought trade should take from all Eastern Bengal and Burmah, and this is what I hope to see carried out. As you will know, the line from Assam to Chittagong has been surveyed, and it is understood a company, with Sir Theodore Hope at the head of it, are desirous of taking it up, but I know not on what terms.

To the Same.

15th May 1889.

Thanks for your note of yesterday. The connection with Assam is only one I proposed some years ago, and as the Government have surveyed the route, and the line will be taken up by others, I do not trouble myself further with it. I am only glad it is to be made, and trust this will be soon. Of course, I hope to see the line, at present only surveyed to Chittagong, continued to Akyab. It is that port I desire to see the outlet for as much trade as possible from Eastern Bengal, and also Burmah. I see you connect Akyab with the Aeng Pass. That would be as difficult as any work in that country, and that would take the line too far south. What I propose is, after proper survey, to take the shortest practicable line from Akyab to Mandalay. I know it is "across uninhabited mountains, and would never (hardly ?) pay for greasing the wheels," but that is why I require Government to give such a concession for the cost of the rail, and for a time towards expenses. Ultimately, as the country gets settled, and trade directed to it, the line should pay well; and, as a strategic line, would be invaluable to Government. Before Lord Lansdowne went out I communicated my views to him, receiving the assurance they should have his consideration, which, now the matter goes out from here, I hope he will give.

To the Same.

11th June 1889.

I have to acknowledge receipt of your favour of yesterday, and thank you very much for your full remarks, which I fully appreciate. I feel there are great difficulties in the way, but I cannot dismiss from my mind the idea that the survey should be made. It must be made some day, and why not now as well as fifty years hence? An officer who held a high position in Burmah thus writes me: "Akyab being the best and nearest

port to Mandalay, they should at almost any cost be connected, and if this can be done without any outlay by Government except a grant of waste land, they should give that to any extent if by so doing this strategic connection can be made." A former Deputy Commissioner[1] of Kyouk Phyoo lately wrote me that he had been over the country between Akyab and the Aeng Pass, and from his remarks I conclude there would not be greater difficulties going direct east into Burmah. Doubtless, once at the Aeng, the route would be easier, but getting there would be difficult, and of course longer.

LETTER to his Excellency the Most Honourable the MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE, Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

May 17, 1889.

MY LORD MARQUIS,—Previous to your departure for India I was honoured by your secretary's letter of 21st September acknowledging a communication I had addressed to you on the subject of the development of the province of Burmah.

Since then I have had some correspondence with the India Office, which I have been informed has been forwarded for the consideration of your Excellency's Government.

As supplemental to the same I take leave to submit the following remarks, to which I respectfully ask your lordship's attention.

Many years ago I communicated my views to the successive Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal, Sir George Campbell, Sir Richard Temple, and the Hon. Sir Ashley Eden, such receiving attention only from the latter, possibly owing to his previous connection with Burmah and interest in that country; the two former holding the traditions of the older province of Bengal, looking only to its interests, jealous of the progress and prosperity of its young sister.

Fearing that the same tendency may still influence the advisers of the Government in Calcutta, I would ask your lordship to take a broader view in the interests of the empire generally.

One proposal I made was the development of the trade of

[1] The late Mr Thomson Shepherd.

Eastern Bengal by directing it to a port on the eastern coast of the bay, and particularly named the port of Akyab, as best suited to that end. Government (doubtless that of Bengal) has apparently now taken this view by having a survey made for a railway from the north of Assam down through Cachar to Chittagong. This survey terminates at the port of Chittagong, and from the advocacy it receives from the Commissioner of that district I presume it is intended that that port shall be the outlet for the trade which this line of railway will produce and foster, and thus retain it still for Bengal. I would ask your consideration of the comparative advantages of the two ports, Chittagong and Akyab—as it would be a pity to expend large sums on the formation of a large terminus with warehouses, &c., at Chittagong, should it afterwards be found (as I doubt not it would be) that the railway should be extended to Akyab, such being a more commodious harbour and better suited for a large trade—combined as it would be as the outlet I am also advocating for the trade of Upper Burmah.

It is enough and satisfactory for me at present to know that there is a prospect of the railway being made from Assam southwards, and with the preceding remarks will leave the question of its terminus for future development.

I now ask your attention to the more difficult and serious question of connecting Upper Burmah with India through Arakan. I have long been and am still met with the cry that such is an impossibility, and a late official of position in India expressed himself to this effect: "But when you have stupendous physical, combined with equally difficult political, features to contend with, it seems folly to propose lines of rail across uninhabited mountains which would never pay the oil for greasing the wheels." As regards the "difficult political features," it can hardly be supposed there can be any in the "uninhabited mountains" referred to, unless it may be in coming in contact with the wild tribes which have lately been giving us so much trouble by their raids on our frontiers. In reply to this objection I would say that the construction of a railway would, in all likelihood, be the most satisfactory way of civilising these tribes, and bringing them into subjection, or to recognise our supremacy, in preference to the old system of "fire and sword," or any expedition that can be sent against

them. And as to the "stupendous physical difficulties," what can they be which the skill of our present-day engineers cannot surmount? But at all events, these difficulties, though they may be great, are at present only conjectural, the country being perfectly unknown, and a survey only can determine this. Against all these I would place the strategical advantage such a line would be to Government. In the event of any difficulties in Upper Burmah, or on the frontier towards China, requiring the speedy introduction of troops, how easily and quickly could they, by this route, be thrown into the country? Then again, in carrying out the views of Government as to emigration from the congested districts of Bengal, how much more easily could this be effected by this shorter route than by the proposed circuitous route *via* Assam? Doubtless, even the most careful survey may show that this line of railway will be an expensive one to construct, and such as, though very desirable, might possibly not justify the Government in raising money for the purpose; but its construction might be left to private enterprise, its cost being covered by a liberal concession of waste land, which, without such communication, may for ages remain waste, and not otherwise a convertible security—such not entailing on the Government any pecuniary outlay or guarantee.

The proposal which I would desire to submit through the Secretary of State for India for the consideration and approval of your Excellency's Government would be, . . . as it is more than likely the late official's concluding remark before quoted might, to some extent, be verified, that it "would never pay the oil for greasing the wheels." This, however, might be considered a *façon de parler*—rather exaggerated language—as there can be no doubt that it *would draw trade*, and *develop and settle the country*.

I will not further trespass on you, but conclude with the hope that even if my views do not meet with full approval, their general tendency may receive full consideration at your hands. They were late in being brought before Government for any work to be done last cold season; there is yet time for arrangements for operations in the coming season, and so save and benefit by a year.—I have the honour, &c., &c.

Acknowledgment.

J. OGILVY HAY, Esq.,
&c., &c., &c.

PRIVATE SECRETARY'S OFFICE,
VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA, 15*th July* 1889.

SIR,—I am directed by his Excellency the Marquis of Lansdowne to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 17th May 1889 on the subject of railway communication between Burmah and Arakan, and to inform you that the Secretary of State has recently referred, for the consideration of the Government of India, your letters, as per margin[1] (with enclosures), on the same subject, and the views of the Government of India on your proposals have been communicated to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State, who will doubtless communicate with you with regard to it.—I am, sir, yours faithfully,

J. D. ARDAGH, Col.,
Private Secretary to the Viceroy.

To a Gentleman on the Staff of the 'Saturday Review.'

22*d May* 1889.

My attention has been called to an article in last Saturday's 'Review' under the heading of "A New Market in South-Eastern Asia." As it is a very important subject, I would ask your special attention to it. I may begin by saying my views are much at variance with those of the writer of the article, and I have studied the question for more than a quarter of a century. In September last I published a brochure entitled 'Indo-Burmah-China Railway Connections: a Pressing Necessity.' A copy of this was sent to the 'Review' at the time, but I do not think it received any notice. With this I send you another copy, asking for it some consideration at your hands; I do not care whether favourable to my views or otherwise, so far as the matter is well looked at. The views expressed in Saturday's article are those which have been advocated by Mr Holt Hallett in a series of addresses in the manufacturing districts, as reported in the 'Blackburn Standard' of 23d March, and again on 6th May and this week. His tirade against Government is unreasonable and unjust. The Government

[1] Dated 17th September 1888, 14th February 1889, 30th March 1889.

want means, and the manufacturers, if they want their views fully carried out, and have faith in them, should show this by supplying these; but this they grudge, expecting all to be done for them, without their helping with the sinews of war. Again, the line is open from Rangoon to Mandalay, while what Mr Hallett advocates from Moulmein has yet to be surveyed and made, so the Government are far ahead of Mr Hallett, whose means of promoting his views, endeavouring to stir up democratic feelings in the manufacturing districts, I cannot think are the best.

For the development and extension of trade there is hardly a more important question for discussion than this Burmah-China route question.

To the Same.

I have to thank you for your attention to the communication I addressed to you on the 22d ult., as shown by the critique on my brochure in last Saturday's 'Review.' There is nothing in that article to which I can take exception. Perhaps too much has been made in it and other quarters of Mr Baber's report on the route east from Bhamo. I think there is evidence on the face of it that his language is exaggerated. The writer of the article wishes I had been less "declamatory and more practical." If he had known all I have done in the matter he would have expressed himself differently. The subject is one I have had constantly before me for nearly thirty years, and though I never had the opportunity of exploring the country like Messrs Colquhoun and Hallett, nor the engineering knowledge and opportunities they had when in the Public Works Department in Burmah, I have not done the less work. As I could not go to Mandalay myself in 1873, I sent on my own account a special mission of a civil engineer and a commercial companion to endeavour to negotiate matters with the King of Burmah, for the promotion of railways in his territory; but if he could not be influenced by General Fytche and Sir Edward B. Sladen, it was useless my having attempted it, and the same and following year, though I am no speaker, I went about and wrote to the various Chambers of Commerce interested in the question, endeavouring to stir them up to action—as also the Marquis of

Salisbury, then Secretary for India, having still by me considerable correspondence of that date, and the same will be found in the India Office. With Sir Edward Sladen and others who have been engaged in the work I have had considerable intercourse, thus learning their views. Admitting that there are great difficulties by the exact route from Bhamo, it has not been alleged that all the territory between Mandalay and Yunnan is equally so, and as Sir Charles Bernard said in his address before the "Scottish Geographical," an easier route might be found in the Shewli Valley.[1] Government having completed the railway from Rangoon to Mandalay, will not rest —and very naturally—till it connects with Chinese territory, so that all the trade may pass over it through Burmah, and it is useless Mr Hallett wasting his energies combating this determination. See Lord Salisbury's letter of 20th April. It is fighting against great odds having the distance from Moulmein to Esmok, yet unsurveyed, to make, against the railway from Rangoon to Mandalay already made. So, as I said in my previous letter, the Government are far ahead of him. Mr Hallett's idea of Moulmein as an outlet is doubtless very good as an additional route for trade, but it can never compete with the Mandalay-Rangoon route, or with what I advocate, Mandalay to Akyab, which is superior to any other, Akyab being the best port on all the coast,[2] and nearest to Mandalay. But time will show, and it would be of great moment if writers of weight in such columns as the 'Saturday' would press on the mercantile community the truth of the last sentence in last Saturday's article, so as to get it to support with the sinews of war, those who are really striving to promote a trade-route for the easy and expeditious transport of their goods to the distant markets of China and the Shan States; among others the Salt Syndicate, should do this with advantage to themselves. These Eastern markets would take off large supplies of that commodity.

Sir Andrew Clarke, in the interest of Siam, and the Siamese Government, will be sure to carry all trade they can to Bangkok, and allow none to go past to Moulmein, if they can help it.

[1] This was before the route through the Shan States was proposed.

[2] See Captain Ewert's letter, p. 214.

On the 31st May 1889, Lord Cross sent the following reply to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce:—

"The efforts of the Government to extend railway communication in India, whether by the direct agency of the State, or indirectly by the grant of assistance to companies, are inseparably connected with the financial condition of the empire, and are limited by the necessity of avoiding fresh taxation. Viscount Cross is, however, fully sensible of the importance of the subject to which you have drawn his attention, and is most desirous of aiding the expansion of the Indian railway system in any way compatible with the conditions referred to."

LETTER to UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

No. 4. LONDON, 29*th July* 1889.

SIR,—On the 22d inst. I addressed a demi-official note to Sir John E. Gorst, which doubtless his pressing duties at the end of the session may have prevented his acknowledging.

It was inquiring if any reply had been received from the Government of India to the communication addressed to it, as stated in letter P.W. 661 of 30th April received by me from your office.

I have met with more difficulty than I anticipated in diverting the attention of financial houses from "Government guarantees," which they seemingly require; but were the system of land grants in connection with the promotion of railways in India and Burmah fairly brought before the public, and properly understood, I believe there would be a revolution in the opinion in this respect in financial circles. I have had much communication to this end during the last few months, and after a short holiday, which I am just about to take, will renew my endeavours to carry through the arrangements necessary for the promotion of the line which I have brought to the notice of his lordship the Secretary of State.

. . . . . .

Am I correct in the information I have received that the Government of India have intimated their approval of the principle of land grants in connection with railway promotion,

having entertained the proposals submitted for the construction of the Assam-Chittagong connection ?—I am, &c., &c.

Reply.

P.W. 1446. INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S.W., *16th August* 1889.

SIR,—With reference to previous correspondence which has passed between yourself and this office, ending with your letter of 29th July 1889, on the subject of railway extension in Burmah, I am desired to inform you that the Government of India, although not opposed in principle to the free grant of unoccupied cultivable land alongside a projected railway, are unable to recommend any concession of land for the extension you propose in Burmah. They point out that a railway from Akyab to any part of Upper Burmah would pass through a tract which is not for the most part British territory, while that part which is British is at present almost entirely unexplored.

The Secretary of State concurs with the Government of India in this view.—I am, &c., JOHN E. GORST.

J. OGILVY HAY, Esq.

PROJECTED CHITTAGONG-ASSAM RAILWAY.

(Not published.)

To the EDITOR of the 'Times.' *17th September* 1889.

SIR,—I would ask your attention to the following remark in your issue of yesterday, under the heading "India—Calcutta, September 15." When writing of "An East Coast Railway" for securing Ganjam against future famine, your correspondent goes on to say: "The scheme is of infinitely more practical urgency than the *somewhat fanciful and unremunerative scheme for a Chittagong-Assam line.*" It is the remark I have underscored that I specially refer to. Your correspondent is either ignorant of the circumstances under which it is proposed to make this line, the condition of the country through which it will pass, or more likely is biassed by "Calcutta proclivities."

If he knew the circumstances, he would have been aware that it is proposed to construct this line by a private company, and under the system which the present Secretary of State wishes to encourage—that is, without a Government guarantee of interest. If this can be done, so much the better for the country; but his lordship has not yet definitely intimated in what way, without a guarantee, the Government is prepared to encourage private enterprise—though in a late address he said "he hoped all who were able to help him" (that is, in pressing forward railway works in India) "would do so as far as they could by coming forward with as much capital as they could let out, and he hoped he would be able to meet them on *equable* terms." The "EQUABLE terms" require explanation. In the present instance, though I am not in the secret of the promoters, while desiring them all success, I understand they require a concession of waste land, the cultivation of which they expect will aid them in obtaining a satisfactory return on their invested capital, if the railway itself does not give this. The line, I doubt not, will ere long be a most important trunk line, and with feeders on both sides will open a very large, and at present undeveloped, country—in fact, the whole of trans-Gangetic Bengal. It is possible that the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir Stewart Bayley, from his previous knowledge as Commissioner of Assam, has seen the necessity of an opening for its trade, and has thus encouraged the scheme, the suggestion of which some of his predecessors had, with a lack of courtesy, pooh-poohed. The Commissioner of Chittagong has lately published a very interesting statement of the present trade of the eastern districts to be served by this line, and even as it stands at present there is good encouragement to go on with the work. Of course the commissioner has done this in the interest of the port of Chittagong, and commences his "notes" with the following: "Dr Hunter writes thus of the port of Chittagong in his statistical account of Bengal: 'The peculiar advantages which Chittagong possessed enabled it to command in early times almost the entire trade of Bengal. Situated on the river Kurnafuli, the port offered easy access and safe anchorage to ships of 20 feet draught, while its proximity to the Megna gave ready communication with all the country traversed by the Ganges and Brahmaputra.'" It is re-

freshing to find the commissioner of a district taking such an interest in his charge as to put forward such statistics and advocacy as in the notes before us, and he deserves all credit. Would that other officers in similar positions would go and do likewise! and this applies especially to the present Commissioner[1] of Arakan, who has the claims of a much finer port than Chittagong to work upon; and had the mantle of the late Sir Archibald Bogle, who, as Commissioner of Arakan, did so much for its rice-trade (the backbone of Burmah finance), fallen on his present successor, more would have been heard of the rival claims of the port of Akyab, than which there is not a finer harbour on either side of the Bay of Bengal. A high Indian official, writing lately of this Chittagong-Assam Railway scheme, said: "This no doubt would be a very valuable connection, and the arguments in favour of Akyab *versus* Chittagong as the better port for the outlet of trade are quite sound." Chittagong, as Dr (now Sir) W. W. Hunter says, was sufficient for vessels of olden times, but the river is not adapted for the large vessels of the present day, some of which would have difficulty from their length to turn in the river; while Akyab, which formerly had not a very good reputation as a port for *sailing* vessels, has a most capacious harbour for all classes of ships—the lights it is now supplied with having removed all disadvantages, and its capabilities, not only for the trade of Eastern Bengal, but also for what may be expected by-and-by from Burmah and China, is undoubted.[2]

In the late debate on the Indian Budget, this Chittagong-Assam Railway scheme was brought forward as an instance where the control of Parliament was necessary to safeguard the country from extravagant concessions, which it was hinted the Indian Government were inclined to, and which inclination it was necessary to repress (*vide* the ruby-mines). It would be well if those coming forward as guardians of India's interests would make themselves better acquainted with the subjects they take up, and which have possibly been misrepresented to them by interested or disappointed parties; they would not make so many mistakes or get so many rebuffs from the India Office. The Indian Government have hitherto, so far as my experience goes, extending to nearly half a

[1] Has been transferred elsewhere. [2] See Captain Ewert's letter, p. 214.

century, been very backward in granting encouraging terms to private capitalists; and on every occasion when a tendency is shown to more liberal dealings, they should be encouraged, rather than have cavilling obstacles thrown in their way, and more particularly when negotiations are proceeding their action should not be interfered with, probably with the result of an unsatisfactory termination. Sir John E. Gorst was therefore justified in declining to open his hand as to pending matters. Will those who object to grants of waste lands in lieu of guaranteed interest point out some other feasible inducement to capitalists to embark in Indian railways, without which the lands given may lie waste till doomsday?—I am, &c.

LETTER to the SECRETARY, London Chamber of Commerce.

LONDON, 1*st October* 1889.

SIR,—Referring to the few minutes' conversation I had with you yesterday, I beg to act on your suggestion, and address the following remarks to you for submission to your committee. I would premise that I have stated my views pretty clearly in the *brochure* entitled 'Indo-Burmah-China Railway Connections,' a copy of which I left with you. At pages 6 and 16 you will see reference is made to the meeting of your Chamber in November 1888, when Messrs Colquhoun and Hallett detailed the latest development of their scheme for connecting the port of Moulmein with Western China. There is no doubt that in the *distant* future the route they advocate *may* be of importance; but for the *immediate* development of trade with Western China I would earnestly urge on the committee of your influential Chamber, and through it the mercantile community of this country, the expediency and necessity of giving full and hearty support and encouragement to the views of the Indian Government, influenced, of course, by the local government of Burmah, which, in the interest of that province, as well as of the Imperial Exchequer, is desirous of opening up the China trade through our own province *viâ* Mandalay. Too much stress has been laid on the report—in rather extravagant language—of Mr Baber on the difficulties to be met with on the Bhamo route, which was the original trade-route, and which, without full knowledge of the country, was long advocated as *the* route

par excellence for trade with China. That was when, under the Burmese native Government, we were unable to explore the country so fully as we can now that we have it in our own hands, a circumstance which has completely altered the aspect of the whole question.

As you are aware, the railway is now open from Rangoon to Mandalay. Is it, you think, at all likely that our Government, either in this country or in India, will forego the advantages they possess in this railway, or will listen to any scheme for the development of trade by which there was a possibility that such trade would in part or in whole be diverted from our own province, or rather, which would prevent the full utilisation of our own line of railway, traversing the whole length of our province? Again, since your meeting previously referred to, the Siamese have taken action, and the concession granted[1] to Sir Andrew Clarke is solely with the view of directing trade to their chief port, Bangkok. Is it likely the Siamese Government will look with anything but jealousy at any attempt to arrest this course of trade by deflecting it to Moulmein, which Messrs Colquhoun and Hallett's scheme would do? Under these changed conditions, without any disparagement of their proposals, but rather according to them credit for their exertions and advocacy for the development and extension of trade, I would emphatically say that for the present their scheme must be held in abeyance, if not considered quite exploded. Your committee may be disposed to agree with the 'Scotsman,' when criticising my *brochure*, that the "writer is desperately in earnest." I am so; and considering that this vexed question of the Burmah-China trade-route has been agitated for nearly fifty years, it is time some real action on the part of the mercantile community should be taken, if they are at all in earnest in their desire to extend their trade to Western China.

. . . . . .

The Secretary of State for India, it is well known, is very anxious to promote railway work in our Eastern empire, and in a recent address thus expressed himself.[2] This was addressed to the manufacturers of Oldham, and should be taken to heart by all in other manufacturing districts.

[1] Then believed to have been granted.

[2] See address, p. 89.

'I will only add, with all due deference, the suggestion that the action of your Chamber should be in the direction of urging the mercantile community, anxious for the extension of our relations with Western China, to avail of the Secretary's present desire to further railways, and generously comply with his request for help—substantial help. The Government without this cannot go on so quickly as the necessities of commerce demand. The old saying must be well considered, "Providence will help those who help themselves." If the merchants and manufacturers of Britain wish the trade-route to Western China opened up, they must do more than discuss, pass resolutions urging it on Government, they must give the "sinews of war"; and what would this amount to if all the Chambers of the manufacturing cities were to combine to provide the required amount? A bagatelle to each! to be returned manifold to each in increased demand for their productions.

It might be well if your Chamber took the lead in bringing a renewed discussion of the subject before the next meeting of the Associated Chambers, giving timely notice so that it might be previously well considered by other Chambers. It has often been before the Association with but the result of a "resolution." —I am, &c.

LETTER to Same.

LONDON, *4th October* 1889.

I have to thank you for your promised attention to my letter of 1st inst.

Doubtless you are aware there is much undeveloped wealth in Upper Burmah, but to supplement what I have already stated on the subject, I think it might be well to attach to my letter the following paragraph, in which our former political agent at Mandalay concluded a report he made to Government on the metals and minerals of Upper Burmah:—

"Upper Burmah, with its metals and minerals, its forests, natural resources, productiveness of soil, and from its geographical position, situated as it is close to the teeming population of the Chinese empire, ought to be the richest country in Asia. The productiveness of the soil as regards cereals and other crops is wonderful. The indigo plant, which is prolific in its growth, gives three crops per annum, and the dye would equal

that of Bengal, with careful and proper treatment in its manufacture. Paddy, wheat, cotton, cutch, grain, sesamum, sugarcane, tobacco, tea, coffee, each has its own soil in abundance. Teak and other useful trees abound; and taking all in all, Upper Burmah would seem to have a grand future in store for it, as civilisation advances, and old prejudices give way to new and enlightened ideas."

Here seems a grand country to work upon, and the mercantile community of Britain should see it in their own interest to encourage its development.—I am, &c.

P.S.—Lord Dufferin's remarks at your dinner the other day should induce your body to action.

Memo.—The question considered by committee, but no action taken—deferred! deferred! *laissez faire* policy!

Lord Dufferin on Railway Extension and Connection with China.

Lord Dufferin, at an entertainment given him by the London Chamber of Commerce at the Metropole Hotel, on the 30th October 1889, said: "However satisfactory may be the present condition of our commercial relations with India, I am quite convinced that they will prove capable of indefinite expansion, especially if once the British investor could be induced to regard India as a favourable field for independent railway enterprise. The Government of India has undoubtedly done and is doing every year a great deal in this direction, both by itself entering upon the construction of important lines, and by giving guarantees to private companies; but its action in both directions is necessarily limited, and it seems to me the time has come when unassisted private enterprise[1] should step in and perfect the artificial exertions of the Government. Were India only covered with a network of railways corresponding with its power of production and to the requirements

[1] This might have been, but want of firmness at the India Office in resiling from the determination to discontinue guarantees, and dual management in the case of the "Assam-Bengal Railway," have checked any tendency to this end. Private enterprise must be independent in its management.

of its population, the present volume both of our import and export trade, considerable as it is, would undoubtedly be greatly augmented; and not only is this true of India, but, I believe, a similar commercial expansion is upon the eve of being developed in Burmah, and before no very distant date I prophesy that our chief means of communication with China will be through the north and east of Burmah.

LETTER to the Right Honourable LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M.P., First Lord of the Admiralty.

LONDON, 25*th Jan.* 1890.

MY LORD,—Presuming that the question of the defences of our country is one which must interest you, more particularly as regards the naval part, I beg to ask if you will be so good as favour me with an interview, being desirous of making a communication to you on the subject of our naval position in India.

I can promise you that I shall not take up much of your otherwise valuable time. The subject-matter, I think, is of importance.

Should you be pleased to accede to my request, and appoint a time, I shall do myself the honour of waiting on you; and I would ask if you would instruct the Department to have at your hand a copy of the latest survey of the coast of Arakan, as a speedy reference to such would facilitate my communication to you.—I have the honour, &c., &c.

Reply.

ADMIRALTY, 27*th Jan.* 1890.

SIR,—Lord George Hamilton desires me to reply to your letter of the 23d instant, and to say that his time is too much occupied at present for him to be able to see you personally, but that he has arranged for the Director of Naval Intelligence to give you an interview. This officer, Captain Bridge, R.N., will be ready to receive you on Thursday or Friday next, at twelve o'clock noon, at his office in the Admiralty.—Believe me, yours faithfully, W. GRAHAME GREENE.

J. OGILVY HAY, Esq.

LETTER to W. GRAHAME GREENE, Esq., Assistant Private Secretary.

LONDON, 27*th Jan.* 1890.

SIR,—I have to acknowledge your letter of this date, and beg to thank Lord George Hamilton for arranging an interview for me with Captain Bridge, R.N., Director of Naval Intelligence, and I will accordingly attend at his office on Thursday, at twelve noon.—I am, &c.

EXTRACT from LETTER, J. OGILVY HAY to Captain C. A. G. BRIDGE, R.N., Director Naval Intelligence Department, the Admiralty, Whitehall (after an interview).

LONDON, 4*th February* 1890.

I would desire to put the purport of my communication to you on record, and therefore address the present to your Department.

Having for many years been connected with the port of Akyab, I have seen the advantages to be derived from the development of its capabilities for a large shipping trade, and have advocated the connection of Assam and all the districts to the east of the Brahmapootra with it; also its connection with Mandalay, the capital of Upper Burmah. In this way it should be the outlet and inlet for the trade of all Eastern Bengal, Upper Burmah, and the great trade which must result from connection through Burmah with Western China—a connection which within a few years must be made.

In time I look to Akyab being one of the, if not the largest, shipping ports in India. With this trade there will necessarily be the construction of docks, and in this view I think it very desirable that the Admiralty should be aware of these probabilities, and so influence matters that the docks may be available for the requirements of the navy. It is not, of course, for me to offer any advice to the Government in such matters, but I cannot help expressing the opinion that Akyab should be the principal naval station in the Bay of Bengal, and as such would form one of the best defences to the port of Calcutta, enabling Government to almost denude Bengal of troops (should occasion require) for the protection of our north-western frontier; also

with a line of railway from Akyab to Mandalay, troops could with speed be sent to protect our north-eastern, Chinawards. And with these remarks, which I would ask you respectfully to bring before their lordships, I would ask the aid of the Admiralty in the development of the capabilities of the port of Akyab in the interests of the empire generally.—I am, &c.

Reply.

ADMIRALTY, 13*th February* 1890.

SIR,—I have laid before my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty your letter of 4th inst., addressed to the Director of Naval Intelligence, respecting the port of Akyab.

My Lords have learned with pleasure the probable development of this port, and have noted with interest your statement as to the construction of docks at Akyab; but as the selection of defended naval positions has been settled after full inquiry, my Lords are not in a position to promise any aid in developing the capabilities of the place.—I am, &c.,

EVAN MACGREGOR.

J. OGILVY HAY, Esq.

LETTER to an Indian Bank Director.

15*th Jan.* 1890.

When I communicated with you a short time since on the subject of railways in Burmah, you did not seem to think it was a matter your bank could take up.

What I was then considering chiefly was a railway from Akyab to Mandalay. Since then I find the feeling is more for extension from Mandalay Chinawards, and that my first scheme will afterwards develop from that as the proper outlet seawards. One of my chief supporters for both schemes has been suddenly called away, and I have lost one who thoroughly understood the question and was prepared to go into them—in the death of Colonel Sir Edward Sladen.

I was yesterday introduced to your colleague Mr ——, and had a few minutes' conversation with him on the subject, promising to go more fully into it with him soon. He said he would mention it to you.

Now there is no question that this Burmah-China connection is to be made very soon, and the Government is now engaged on the surveys. Railways will develop a large trade, and those who first go in will have the pull. I believe I have matters well in train, and I would like much to show you that it would be all in all for your bank to take the matter into your serious consideration. As I see my way, it is not one that will require from you any outlay of capital, and I have a good London bank that would go into it, your bank taking the Indian part, which would certainly be worth while looking after, even in its initial stages, let alone what it may expand to. Just on Monday I was told G—— was making some inquiries about trade-routes; evidently they are sniffing in that direction. I do not say this as a pressure on you, but state it as a fact which shows how the wind blows.

LETTER to a City Friend.

16*th January* 1890.

I have just had an interview with Mr Hole, the Secretary of the Associated Chambers, and learn from him that a resolution has been inserted in the programme for the next annual meeting urging on Government the prosecution of railways in India. This, he said, covers the question of railways in Burmah as that bears on our connection with China through Burmah. . . . He said it would be desirable that I saw Mr Maclean, M.P. for Oldham, as he would be asked to speak on the resolution. Now my communications to Government are based a good deal on the address Lord Cross delivered at Oldham twelve months ago, when Mr Maclean was present and spoke. Lord Cross strongly pressed the commercial community to support his views *by means*, so that railway works could be prosecuted. These *resolutions* are of no use. Lord Cross said he was as anxious as any one to extend railways, but the means are wanted to do so, so extensively as the requirements of our trade demand. Aware that you are meeting Mr Maclean, I would be glad if you would communicate with him on the subject; and were it agreeable to him, I would meet him and go further into it with him. Unquestionably there is a great future in this scheme.

Result.—An interview with Mr Maclean.

LETTER to the Right Honourable VISCOUNT CROSS, G.C.B., Secretary of State for India.

No. 5. LONDON, 25*th March* 1890.

I was duly honoured by Under Secretary Sir John E. Gorst's letter P.W. 1446, of 16th August 1889, which I delayed acknowledging till I could place some definite proposals before your lordship for the extension of railway work in Burmah. This I now do in a separate letter (No. 6) accompanying this.

I confine the present to state, that without presuming to question the views of the Government of India, concurred in by your lordship, I would remark that all my previous communications have been based on the knowledge that the territory through which I proposed to construct a railway—viz., across the Arakan-Yoma range—was entirely unexplored, a perfect *terra incognita* so far as our Government is concerned.

I had not, however, taken the view advanced by his Excellency's Government, that there was any part of the territory in question which we could not look on as British territory. The fact that the kingdom of Arakan had been conquered by the Burmese, and that the country was repeatedly crossed and recrossed by their armies, led me to the conclusion that, prior to the first Burmese war of 1824-26, the whole country from Ava, the then capital, to the sea-coast of Arakan, was under the sovereignty of the King of Burmah; that by the treaty of Yandaboo Arakan was ceded by him to the British Government; and that, as the result of the last war, we took possession of all that remained of his kingdom; consequently there could be no intermediate territory which did not now belong to the British Crown.

For the present I have abandoned the idea of the railway between Akyab and Mandalay, without however changing my opinion that not only in a strategical and administrative, but also in a commercial view, it is a most important line which will one day be found necessary.

I would conclude by saying that if this necessity should occur while I have life, health, and strength, I will esteem it a high honour and favour if the Indian Government here and in India will bear in remembrance that I have proposed it, and will give me the opportunity of executing the work.

May I ask the favour of your forwarding a copy of this letter to his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council?—I have the honour to be, &c., &c.

Burmah-China Railway Extension.

Letter No. 6, dated London, 25th March 1890, to the Secretary of State for India, with special proposals for "the extension of the present railway system in Burmah towards the China frontier."

Reply.

P.W. 598. India Office, Whitehall, S.W.,
1*st May* 1890.

Sir,—I am directed to acknowledge receipt of your two letters of the 25th March 1890 on the subject of the extension of the existing railway system in Burmah towards China by the agency of a company to be formed for the purpose.

In reply I am desired to inform you that the Government of India have shown no desire to lease the existing railway system in Burmah, and that it is their intention to undertake for themselves any extensions of the system which may be deemed expedient.

I am to add that the Secretary of State has approved of this course, and is not therefore in a position to consider the terms on which a company might be disposed to take over and extend the Burmah railway system in the direction indicated in your letter.

A copy of this correspondence will be forwarded to the Government of India.—I am, &c. John E. Gorst.

J. Ogilvy Hay, Esq.

Letter to an Indian Official.

10*th May* 1890.

From the *brochure* 'Indo-Burmah-China Railway Connections,' copy of which I handed to you, you would see that I take an interest in the development of Burmah, with which I have been connected since 1853, and in the trade-route question between it and China. The old idea was that this must be by

Bhamo, but that was before we had the country, or knew much about it. Now, as shown in Mr Sherriff's paper, which I also handed to you, the determined route is through the Shan States, and the surveys now going on by Government will fix the exact line for a railway. I had correspondence with Lord Salisbury on the subject so far back as 1874, when he was at the India Office. If you take an interest in this question, and could find time to look into it, I would be glad if you would call for my correspondence.

Lord Cross having in the early part of last year, in an address at Oldham, urged on his hearers the necessity of coming forward to assist him in extending railways in India, and Sir Juland Danvers having followed with a paper at the Society of Arts to the same effect, I have ever since been working hard to meet these views, directing my attention specially to Burmah. Now, when I have brought matters to a point, formed an influential Board of Directors, and formulated proposals for taking up the work, I am met with the reply that the Government intend to do the work themselves. This is very disappointing and disheartening. The Marquis of Tweeddale had consented to be chairman of the company; General Alexander Fraser, C.B., R.E., formerly Secretary to the Government of India P.W.D., was taking an interest in it; and Mr H. M. Mathews, late engineer in chief and manager of the Burmah State Railways, consulting engineer. These names speak well for the proposed company.[1]

I much fear Lord Cross's views have been influenced by those of the Government of India, looking to the apparent success of the lines already laid down in Burmah. If so, I think it is a short-sighted policy, as, though the latest extension in Burmah shows rapid progress as to returns, I fear it is somewhat overestimated. In the discussion on the Budget in Calcutta, Sir Charles Elliott showed the returns, and it seems as if the Government were content with this small profit, instead of looking to the prospective general enhancement of the revenue of the country which would certainly follow the rapid extension of railways, and this would be more rapid by the intervention of the public than by the Government itself. Those who know much about the country and are interested in it think this, and

[1] Delay and disappointment have damped their interest and directed their energies to more immediate work.

that the railways should be in the hands of the public. Though the returns are so favourable, there are great complaints of the inefficiency of the railway service on the Mandalay line—see last week's 'Pioneer'—and this raises the question, Does this arise from deficiency of rolling stock, this not having been increased to keep pace with the extension of the line? If so, the capital outlay is less than it should be for the traffic, and hence the returns show more favourably than they should. It appears as, if the working were in the hands of a company, this would soon be inquired into and remedied. Sir Charles Elliott said the Government wish a few large companies, and not a number of small ones. This could be better worked in Burmah than in any other part of India—it being, so to speak, so "self-contained"—and the company I am promoting would be prepared to take it all up as a whole. Sir Charles Elliott spoke as if he expected the public to be so philanthropic as to make the railways without any inducement but the traffic returns, because the Government would raise money at 3 per cent, and the railways might return 6 per cent. The public *won't* do this, and will not embark money without considerably more inducement. Doubtless Government can raise loans, as they have done just now, at 3 per cent; but what is this but giving indirectly the guarantee the public want, but which the Government say they won't give directly?—I am, &c.

Reply.

16*th May* 1890.

Many thanks for your interesting papers and letter. I understand that your proposals have been sent out to the Government of India, and they will, I feel sure, not be overlooked when the time comes for deciding the matter. The printed papers you handed me are very interesting, and I agree very much with your views.—Yours, &c.

LETTER to the Same.

31*st Oct.* 1890.

As a proof that the French are going ahead of us in their Eastern possessions for the Western China trade, I enclose copy of a prospectus of a company being brought out in Paris; it may interest you to see it. When done with, please return.

Reply.

5th Nov. 1890.

DEAR MR OGILVY HAY,—Thank you for these papers, which are very interesting. I have shown them to some of the authorities here.

I believe that the subject will be shortly under the consideration of the Secretary of State in Council, who have your views before them.—Yours, &c.

EXTRACT from LETTER to the late Sir A. RIVERS THOMPSON, K.C.S.I., formerly Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

31*st May* 1890.

DEAR SIR RIVERS THOMPSON,—It may surprise you to receive a communication from me, but perhaps not so much when you find it is on the same subject (railways in Burmah) which so much occupied my attention when you were in Burmah, and I hope, if you retain an interest in that country, it may not be unwelcome to you. . . .

In 1888 I published a small pamphlet on the subject, copy of which I beg to send for your acceptance, and ask for it a perusal. There is one omission in it which I have much regretted, and that is all mention of your successor, Sir Charles Aitchison. This I account for by the fact that I only met him once, about the time my illness began, and his term of office was when I was taking no interest in anything, and having no Burmah news whatever, his "reign" was thus a blank to me.

The annexation of Upper Burmah of course very materially altered the position of matters regarding its connection with Arakan on the one hand, and China on the other, from what they were when you had charge of British Burmah.

In my late communications with Government, my first proposal was as to connecting Akyab with Mandalay, when I was met with the intelligence (communicated to me by the Secretary of State) that "the Government of India point out that a railway from Akyab to Mandalay, or any part of Burmah, *would pass through a tract which is not for the most part British territory*, while that part which is British is at present almost entirely unexplored." To this I replied.[1] Perhaps this answer

[1] See letter, p. 126.

was given to put off the matter for the time, while the Lushai-Chin expedition was in prospect. It would have served their purpose better, and at less expense, if, instead of the late expeditions from Upper Burmah, Chittagong, and Cachar, they had taken the narrower strip from Akyab to Mandalay as a base, and worked gradually north from that.

From letters in the 'Pioneer' from a correspondent with the expedition, I gather that they have discovered a good line from Burmah into Arakan, which, they expect more careful survey will show, will give direct communication from Burmah to the Bay of Bengal *by the shortest route*—a point I have always maintained. The idea of connecting Burmah with Bengal by a longer and more northerly route seems open to question, as advisable. Sir Theodore Hope's proposed line from Assam to Chittagong, extended to a junction on the Akyab and Mandalay route, would save the great expense of the northerly route, and give a shorter one between Burmah and Bengal. With the Government reply before me, I have for the time laid aside this line, with the firm belief that ere long it must be taken in hand. I have since turned my attention to railway extension Chinawards through the Shan States. This route, as you may be aware, is now being thoroughly surveyed, and *will be the route of the future into China*, thus solving the long-discussed trade-route question. With this I send you copy of a paper describing it, read before the Society of Arts by Mr. W. Sherriff, a Rangoon merchant, who was deputed by the Chamber of Commerce to accompany a Government exploring party in the Northern Shan States. I have proposals now before the Government of India for the execution of this work. . . .

With this I also send copies of letters addressed to me by the late Sir Ed. Sladen, and General Alex. Fraser. In Colonel Sladen's death I lost a warm supporter, and one who would have taken a practical part in working it out. General Fraser, who was executive officer at Akyab when I first settled there, and knows it and other parts of Burmah well, enters fully into the subject, and thoroughly supports my proposals. Should the Government agree to a concession, and were you resident in or near London, and had a mind to take part in it, I should value your co-operation on the Board of Directors. . . .

I must apologise for troubling you at such length, but I hope

its object may meet with your concurrence. I hope your health has benefited by your residence at Malta, where I understand you have spent the winter and spring. You have been well away from here, where the past season has been very trying to many and also fatal, as in the case of Sladen—the effects of a chill. I hear you are to preside at the Burmah dinner next month, when I may have the pleasure of seeing you. Meantime, hoping to hear from you at your convenience, I am, &c.

Railway Projects in Further India.

(*Not published.*)

To the Editor of the 'Pioneer Mail.'

London, *4th July* 1890.

Sir,—When I saw your article under the above heading in your issue of 4th June, I said to myself, "Now here is an advocate in the right direction;" but when I came to read it, I must confess my great disappointment. You have not grasped the situation, and have apparently taken the "Bengal" view of the question instead of the "Imperial" view. What I mean is, the "Bengal" idea is that the China and Burmah trade is to be taken to Bengal, which is just absurd; the 'Imperial" view is, the development of China trade through Burmah, and the trade of Upper Burmah itself by a port on its own seaboard.

Doubtless, as you say, the Mu Valley Railway is a necessary work, but it is only so as a local line for opening up the northern and western districts of Upper Burmah, this being the declared object of the local authorities in putting it forward; but possibly in the background there was an influence from Bengal which facilitated its sanction at headquarters, so as to carry out the above "Bengal" view.

Then, again, what is the object of connecting the valleys of the Brahmapootra and Irrawaddy? The productions of these valleys must be carried through each independently, southwards, to its own outlet—that is, all the trade of the districts bordering on the Brahmapootra, especially on its eastern and southern banks, must be carried by the line of railway—the Assam-Chittagong (and its feeders), for which Sir Theodore

Hope is now negotiating with Government; that of the Irrawaddy, and, in fact, of all Burmah and the China trade to be developed by connection through the Shan States, either by railway or river to Rangoon, or by the projected Mandalay-Akyab Railway to the latter port.

Further, you say, "A third alignment suggested is through the Lushai Hills from the Chittagong side, as this route is the most direct that could possibly be opened out between Bengal and Burmah." In making this remark you overlook the difficulties in crossing the Megna and Brahmapootra rivers, which would prevent any line through the Lushai Hills connecting with Bengal. This is clearly shown by Sir Theodore Hope in a paper read before the Society of Arts last month. The following is an extract from that paper: "The Eastern Bengal Railway was initiated with the view of serving in due time the whole territories to the eastward, and we learn from Lord Lawrence's minute of 9th January 1869, that he contemplated its extension to Mymensing, to Chittagong, and to what is now termed Upper Assam. Mymensing, indeed, can now be reached by what is and must be a mere local line; but the great rivers have frustrated the original scheme of carrying the Eastern Bengal Railway from Calcutta to Dacca. Thus the territory to the eastward, and the entire province of Assam, are still destitute of railway connection with the rest of India and their own seaport of Chittagong. A whole province is absolutely without opening up by railway. The country served by the port of Chittagong is some 19,000 square miles in area, with twice the population of Canada. . . . Chittagong is the natural outlet[1] of these vast resources, although devoid of either rail or road to the interior. . . . All efforts to force the traffic to Calcutta are evidently destined to be futile." As a parenthesis and comment on the preceding, it may be remarked that unquestionably Sir Theodore Hope's projected Assam-Chittagong Railway should have every encouragement, and the opposition to the concessions for its construction, as led by Mr Bradlaugh, are very injudicious, its speedy prosecution being of the utmost importance to an enormous district of undeveloped wealth. But the "Bengal view" again crops up here in the idea of making the port of Chittagong (which is

[1] Questionable, when the capabilities of Akyab are considered.

under the Bengal Government) the terminus, thus attempting to retain the trade for Bengal. This attempt to force the trade to Chittagong as its *outlet* must (to use Sir Theodore Hope's expression, as above) "be destined to be futile." This railway cannot be complete without being extended to Akyab, which *must ultimately* be THE *outlet*. But to return to the "alignment through the Lushai Hills," referred to by you, I would ask your attention to a letter from your correspondent with the Lushai expedition, which appeared in your paper of 12th March, p. 355, where he says, "This ridge runs almost parallel to the one on our north, which I described in my last letter, and forms a sort of ready-made road to Arakan. Lying along lat. 21.20, it would probably lead over the Yomas near Chypotong, from which point Akyab lies about seventy miles south-west, and no doubt, when the country is more settled, much traffic will move by one or other of the ridges. This will bring Upper Burmah into direct communication with the Bay of Bengal, and no one can tell what results may follow."

From the preceding it will be seen that none of the routes you refer to as proposed for connecting Burmah with Bengal can compete with the connection to be effected between Mandalay and Akyab, which, joining by a branch with the Assam-Chittagong line, would give land communication between Burmah and Bengal.

To return to your article. You say, "Their [Government] line of policy since 1886 has been that expenditure in the first instance should be within the bounds of the new territory which had passed into their hands, and which was practically without other communications than the rivers traversing them." You then refer to the Tounghoo-Mandalay Railway, which has been such a success, and continuing, you remark: "The line, which will join Sagain with Mogaung and open up the fertile valley of the Mu river, has been undertaken as the next most necessary work. It may perhaps be urged that fifty lakhs yearly is too small an allotment for Burmah railways; but however this may be, such money as is available should undoubtedly be devoted first of all to projects in the Irrawaddy valley, and not be frittered away on and across the border. . . . When Upper Burmah has been fully furnished with railways, the local government will itself be anxious to extend its system

both on the east across the Shan plateau and westward towards India; but meanwhile its plain duty is to press forward work within its own limits, the Government of India in its turn to give all the assistance it can afford to internal lines in Burmah, leaving for future consideration projects which will take many years to mature."

From the preceding extract we are left to infer that you would consider the project of a line across the Shan plateau on the east, and a line westward towards India, as not within the limits of the local government. On this point I would join issue with you, and say that the line through the Shan States on the east, and the line from Mandalay to Akyab on the west, are as much internal lines in Burmah as the Mu Valley, and would be of infinitely more value in developing our province. The Shan States must be looked upon as an integral part of Burmah, and the wealth to be produced from them is great, both from agriculture and minerals; and it is only when we get to Kun-Lön on the Salween, on the borders of Yunan, that we can be said to be crossing the border.

I will not trespass further on you, but just ask you to consider impartially the views here put forward summed up as follows: That one of the most necessary works for the development of Burmah, and extension of trade in the interests of the empire generally, is the construction of a railway from Mandalay eastward through the Shan States to Kun-Lön Ferry on the Salween, approaching the confines of the Chinese province of Yunan, the survey of which has almost been completed, with a fair promise of showing a practical route, and not at an excessive cost; and next, the construction of a railway from Mandalay to Akyab as the nearest outlet seaward for the trade brought by the preceding line, as also the trade of Upper Burmah, Akyab at the same time being the most commodious harbour on the Bay of Bengal for a large trade, capable also of forming a large naval station or depot, answering as one of the best defences for the capital of the empire—Calcutta. This last line has not yet been surveyed, but the indications given by your Lushai correspondent lead to the conclusion that it will not be the impracticable route some would have us believe, and sooner or later, but the sooner the better, must be taken in hand, and will in the long-run prove to be one of the

most important works connected with the development of Burmah.

Before closing I would just refer to your remarks as follows: "There have been other projects discussed for reaching Yunan by way of the Shan country, Mandalay or one of the stations further south being the starting-point. These have not yet assumed practical shape, as the surveys have not been finished, but they seem to promise well so far as can be estimated;" and in this connection I would place before you the following telegram from the 'Times' Rangoon correspondent, which requires some correction and modification. Such remarks as the following might deter London financiers looking at the work:—

"*Rangoon, June* 21.—The detailed report of the survey for the proposed railway from Mandalay to the Salween river shows that the engineering difficulties are more serious than had been anticipated. It is suggested that the Gokteek gorge, one of the most serious obstacles, may be crossed by a bridge with a span of 300 to 500 feet, thus avoiding some costly cuttings and embankments. There is no immediate prospect of this line being commenced. The Government of India have limited the outlay on railways in Burmah to 50 lakhs yearly. The entire amount available is required for the construction of the Mu Valley line to Mogaung, and thence eventually to Bhamo. A line to the Salween would give a new lease of life to Mandalay, by making it a depot of Chinese trade."

Now the facts are, that the latest advices from the survey in the Shan States are, that the difficulties are *not* so great as were anticipated, and that the most serious obstacle, the Gokteek gorge, can be surmounted more easily and economically than at one time thought. The more it is examined the less do engineers estimate the difficulties. The chief matter for consideration will be the finance. If all the funds allotted to Burmah are to go on the Mu Valley line, what are the Government to do? Now comes in the occasion for Lord Cross carrying out his expressed desire for the co-operation of the public and leave the work to be done by private enterprise on encouraging terms. Not on what the Public Works Minister describes as "genuine private enterprise," but with some tangible concessions such as required by the Assam-Chittagong railway projectors, a project which he described as "assuming a

somewhat prosperous appearance," though it stills hangs fire. It is understood that definite proposals are now before Government for the Burmah-China line, and it is to be hoped that a *modus operandi* may be discovered, satisfactory terms adjusted, and the work speedily taken in hand and vigorously prosecuted. Had we once a location or depot at Kun-Lön, on the banks of the Salween, even in anticipation of the railway, the effect on the adjoining province of Yunan would be immense, and break the ice for the future China trade through Burmah, which would thus be ripening and getting ready for the advent of the iron horse, the appearance of which on the China border would strengthen the hands of the progressive party in that empire, who are again showing an anxiety to see it traversing their vast dominions.

Apologising for occupying your time and space at such length. Your columns are not so available as the daily press here, but in a matter of this sort must be more powerful. —I am, &c., &c.

LETTER to a London Ship-broker.

10*th Jan.* 1890.

Referring to our conversation when we met the other day,—you did not seem to see the advantage of what I am working for—that is, to bring the port of Akyab to the front. Doubtless with your shipping connection you may think this will injuriously affect Rangoon: as you said, from the amount of English capital sunk there, Rangoon must be kept up. Burmah is a rich country, and the rice-trade that has done so much for Rangoon will stick to that port. My scheme will bring new trade from China, and this will principally, I hope, come to Akyab. Then again, the projected railway from Assam *viâ* Cachar and Chittagong will find its terminus at Akyab. It will thus become a very large shipping port, and in this view is deserving of more consideration from shipowners and shipping interests than you seemed to give it. With its development, as I point out, and its capabilities with its large harbour, it may become our chief naval station in the Bay of Bengal, and as such, would be the best *defence* that the port of Calcutta could have.

Just consider this among your shipping friends.

LETTER to CHARLES BRADLAUGH, Esq., M.P., with reference to his apparent opposition to concessions for the Assam-Chittagong Railway.

LONDON, 26*th Feb.* 1890.

Since the opening of Parliament I notice that you have been giving special attention to Indian matters, and as I doubt not you are influenced by a desire to benefit the country, I take leave to address you on the subject of the question you put some days ago to the Under Secretary for India regarding the Assam-Chittagong Railway.

You are doubtless aware of the great difficulties that have been met with in endeavouring to extend railways eastward from Calcutta owing to the shifting sands, bores, and floods in the Ganges, Brahmapootra, and Megna rivers, insomuch that the important city of Dacca has not yet direct railway communication with Calcutta, the nearest point of contact being the terminus of Goalunda, which has been open for nearly thirty years, but has been more than once nearly washed away.

Seeing these difficulties many years ago, while resident at the port of Akyab in Arakan, and the capabilities of that port for a large trade, my attention was directed to the subject, and I suggested that connection should be made between Assam and Akyab, opening up all our undeveloped territory to the east of the Brahmapootra, and directing the trade to Akyab as the best port for its outlet.

Before the formation of the province of British Burmah (which embraced Arakan, Pegu, and Tenasserim) Arakan was under the Bengal Government, and every rupee that could be drained out of the country was taken to the Calcutta treasury; and beyond the cost of administration little or nothing was spent on the district itself, and to this day Arakan has been very much neglected though always giving a good revenue.

At the time of the second Burmah war, the conduct of some of the Bengal regiments, in refusing to cross the "Kala-panee," so exasperated Lord Dalhousie, then Governor-General, that he ordered a road to be immediately constructed so as to connect India with Burmah, that the sepoys might have no excuse. How this was carried—or rather how it was stopped—will be learned in the second chapter of a *brochure* I published

two years ago, entitled 'Indo-Burmah-China Railway Connections,' a copy of which I send you under a separate cover. From this you will see that, though we have possessed Arakan since 1826, there are not fifty miles of common road in the district, and that the boundaries of Arakan towards Upper Burmah, not a hundred miles from the Commissioner's headquarters, are still unknown.

But to return to the Chittagong-Assam Railway scheme. I believe this trunk line will be of the greatest possible advantage to the trade of Assam, Cachar, and contiguous districts. The line has been surveyed by Government, and its length to Chittagong about 570 to 580 miles. Now, how is this to be constructed at the least possible expense to the country, and without taxing the resources of Government too heavily? I say, by utilising the waste lands along the line. But would this to a moderate extent be sufficient to induce capitalists to go into it? I say No. To take up such a line there must be *great* inducement, and if an *extensive* grant of waste land would be considered such, Why stint it? A late Government official in the scientific department looked upon the line as so unpromising that, even when he knew that it had been surveyed, would scarcely believe that it was earnestly to be taken in hand for execution. He wrote, "That projected line from Comillah to Cachar and across the Patkoi range to Makum appears to me a perfect chimera! I have travelled in a boat from Comillah and Dacca to Sylhet and Cachar, with twenty cubits of water under me, and every village on a mound, with cattle boxed up during the monsoon—a perfect sea for several months. I cannot conceive it, for obvious reasons of water and mountains." Now, under these circumstances, if the line would benefit and develop the country, should not every encouragement be given to the parties willing to undertake it? You must be aware how difficult it is to induce moneyed men in the city of London to enter on any new project in a distant and partially unknown country, or go out of old grooves. In connection with another matter, the following are some remarks I recently made in a letter to Government on this point (see letter of 29th July 1889, p. 114).

I fear I have already trespassed too largely on you with this communication, but it is on an important question not to be hur-

ried over. I would ask you if, in the absence of a Government guarantee of interest, there is any other scheme you could propose to induce capitalists to go largely into railways for developing the latent wealth of such districts as Eastern Bengal and Burmah, besides that of grants of land; and if you would not consider the waste lands to a considerable extent would not be well disposed of, if the grant of them would encourage the extension of railways in those districts?

The subject is one I feel deeply interested in, having a great desire to see Burmah developed by railways extending on to China, and the capabilities of the port of Akyab as an outlet for a great trade duly appreciated. With this I send copy of a letter I addressed to the 'Times' last September on the subject of the Assam-Chittagong Railway (p. 115), but which, for some unexplained reason (though asked for), received no place in their columns.—I am, &c.

LETTER to an Indian Official.

5th May 1890.

The answer I got from the Secretary of State was declining to "consider terms," intending to do all extension of the Burmah system which may be deemed expedient themselves. This is certainly a wheel-about from Lord Cross's and Sir Juland Danvers's deliverances last year begging the public to come forward with all the aid they could. I and others have been working on these, and it looks very much like a breach of faith leading us on and now throwing us over. It appears as if the Indian Government grudge the public the possible profits from the Burmese railway, ignoring the benefit which the rapid extension of the system would be to the revenue otherwise. This does not tally with the decision Sir C. Elliott says they laid down in dealing with Sir Theodore Hope's line. If they keep the best themselves they cannot expect the public to take up the less promising works. And now what do they mean by the new loan, £1,700,000 of which is to provide for the construction of railways through the *agency of companies?* Doubtless the Government can raise money on easier terms than the public, but what is the raising of loans but giving indirectly the guarantee the Secretary says he will not give directly? There

seems inconsistency and want of candour on the part of Government in the matter.

LETTER to the UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

15*th July* 1890.

I was duly favoured with Sir John Gorst's letter P.W. 598, dated 1st May 1890, and with reference to same would respectfully ask if any communication has yet been received from the Government of India on the subject-matter thereof.

I would at same time ask if any reports have been received from the Government of India of the explorations made by Lieutenant Rainey or others attached to the late Lushai expedition, "of what is called by the Burmans the Tsawbwas road leading to Arakan," by which it was believed a practicable route would be found for bringing Upper Burmah into direct communication with the Bay of Bengal. Some little information as to this has appeared in the public prints; but should any official information have been received at the India Office, I would respectfully ask that such be made available to me. If none has been received, I would further ask if early inquiries could be made of the Government of India on the subject.

Reply.

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S.W.,
R. & L. 1149. 29*th July* 1890.

SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 15th inst., and in reply to inform you that no answer has yet been received from the Government of India with reference to the proposals contained in your letter of the 25th March last; and that no report has up to the present been forwarded from India as to the survey made by the officers of the Lushai expedition in the direction referred to by you,—I am, &c.

F. C. DANVERS,
Registrar and Superintendent of Records.

J. OGILVY HAY, Esq.

LORD CROSS at the Cutlers' Feast at Sheffield.

4th September 1890.

"He next called attention to the enormous strides our trade was making with India, and said that at the present moment Government were doing all they could to increase the railway accommodation in that country, because they thought it so necessary for the development of the commerce. In addition to the railways already made, 2000 additional miles of lines had been sanctioned, and were being constructed as fast as possible. . . . He hoped that through India we might some day or other BEFORE LONG get an entry into more than one place in the vast empire of China which would be the means of affording an enormous trade."

Memo.—The first step to this must be connection of India *through Arakan* with Burmah, thence on through the Shan States to the borders of China.

BURMAH-CHINA RAILWAY.

(*Not published.*)

To the EDITOR of the 'Times.' *22d September* 1890.

SIR,—The remark with which you closed your article of 17th inst., calling attention to a correspondent's paper on "the French Trade with Southern China," and Mr Murray's letter on the opening in Chung-King, induces me to hand you the accompanying remarks (received by mail this morning) from Mr Sherriff of Rangoon, on the late reports of the surveys carried out by Government with the view of a railway from Mandalay through the Northern Shan States to the frontier of China.

It may be remembered that Mr Sherriff in February last read a paper before the Society of Arts on the subject, giving an account of his visit to the Shan States as Commissioner appointed by the Rangoon Chamber of Commerce at the request of Government, to accompany an exploring expedition into those States.

I would here quote your remarks to which I refer: "There can be no doubt that the trade of Southern and Western China is worth striving for, and it is pretty certain that it will ulti-

mately fall into the hands of those who strive for it with the greatest amount of energy, intelligence, and perseverance."

Though it seems that the French have made some way in advance of us, I do not think we are yet too late in putting forward our energies to secure this China trade, and I feel satisfied, if the projected railway through the Shan States is prosecuted with vigour, the trade must be directed to Burmah as its channel seaward—more especially, if so directed, it will be further on its way westward, and have its outlet in the Bay of Bengal, instead of the more distant Bay of Tonquin in the China Sea.

Asking your courtesy to give an early place in your columns for this communication, and Mr Sherriff's remarks with the sketch-map[1] which accompanies them.—I am, &c., &c.

To the Right Honourable the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

11th October 1890.

Some months ago I learned from official sources "that the terms offered to Sir T. C. Hope for the construction of the Chittagong-Assam Railway, though they comprised very liberal grants of waste land, coal, and oil, have not proved sufficient to enable the promoters to float a company," and subsequently that the land grant scheme having fallen through, efforts are being made to induce your lordship to waive the resolution you had arrived at, to abandon the system of granting guarantees, and to give to that company terms equivalent to a guarantee of interest on capital.

In the reply with which I was favoured to my letter of 14th February 1889, by letter P. W. 303 of 6th March 1889, I was informed "that the Secretary of State would be prepared to consult the Government of India with regard to any reasonable proposal (*not involving the guarantee of interest by the State*) for railway extension in Burmah, &c." On this I have since been working.

In my letter of 29th July 1889, I wrote to the Under Secretary: "I have met with more difficulty," &c., &c.[2]

Since that date I have been doing my best to "educate that opinion," and I believe, were I in possession of the positive

[1] Neither published.

[2] See letter, p. 114.

terms on which the Government would agree, I could carry out the principle.

As the negotiations with the promoters of the Assam-Chittagong Railway, on the land grant system, are at an end, may I ask your lordship to be so good as inform me as to the terms which the Government were disposed to give? It is, I think, probable that I could be able to carry them out, and so save your lordship from resiling from the resolution you had arrived at in respect of guarantee of interest.

Hoping to be favoured with an early reply, I have the honour to be, &c., &c.

Reply.

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S.W.,
P.W. 1836. 12*th November* 1890.

SIR,—I am directed by the Secretary of State in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th ult. inquiring what terms, based on the land grant system, the Secretary of State was disposed to grant to the promoters of the Assam-Chittagong Railway project.

In reply I am to say that negotiations with the promoters of this scheme have been abandoned, and that so far as your present inquiry may be assumed to have reference to railway extension in Burmah, I am directed to refer you to Sir John Gorst's letter of the 16th August 1889, in which the views of the Secretary of State on the subject were communicated to you.—I am, &c., HORACE WALPOLE.

J. OGILVY HAY, Esq.

LETTER to an Indian Official.

17*th October* 1890.

I take leave to send you a few remarks with reference to our conversation last Saturday.

I understood you to say that you were not aware the Chief Commissioner of Burmah was urging the Government of India to have the country between Upper Burmah and Arakan surveyed, with view to connection by road or rail. The following is extract from a letter by a late mail from Rangoon: "The Government of India are evidently contemplating going on with

the surveys (*i.e.*, towards China), but it is by no means certain that they will decide to spend much money at once. There is a strong probability that their attention may be diverted, for a time at any rate, to the India-Burmah line, which the C.C. is pressing hotly. I am very much afraid you will have some trouble in coming to terms with the Secretary of State and the Government of India, and it will be difficult to raise money without a guarantee, which will probably be refused." I believe, if attention is given to the survey following the lines indicated by Lieutenant Rainey, of the Chin Levy, as reported in the 'Pioneer,' the question of a land route between Burmah and Bengal will be satisfactorily settled. The route taken by the Chin-Lushai expedition was too far north—that was with the view of taking it to Chittagong. It must be *through Arakan;* but again, the Aeng Pass is too far south. Some years ago I had a letter from an officer formerly Deputy-Commissioner of Kyouk Phyoo[1]—he had been over the ground, and considered the route from the Aeng Pass to Akyab would be very difficult, and it would be double the distance of a direct route. Another officer, formerly "Superintendent, Arakan hill tracts,"[2] wrote me lately with reference to the letter in the 'Pioneer': "The road mentioned as getting to a spot seventy miles north-east of Akyab must be the one of which I have heard, formerly much used as an old pilgrimage-road to the Maha Muni Pagoda of Arakan, probably the one Bandoola used; it is due east of Old Arakan town, and was called 'Boo-yuet-ma-knyo,' because it could be traversed before a gourd-leaf withered." This, I believe, will be in direct line from Old Arakan to Mandalay, or rather towards the rising town of Pokkoko, at the mouth of the Chindwin river, and with the Chittagong railway coming down to Arakan, will be the future connection between Burmah and Bengal, and by which the expected flow of emigration will follow.

I have represented the capabilities of Akyab to the Admiralty, as, in the event of its development, by the trade of Assam and contiguous districts, and also of Burmah and China, to be a large shipping port, it should become the principal naval station, and as such would form a great defence to the Hooghly and Calcutta. You will say I am looking far ahead!

[1] The late Mr Thomson Shepherd. [2] Mr R. F. St Andrew St John.

Now, as to the Assam-Chittagong line, the action of the Government, so far as known to the public, is rather perplexing. Some time ago I learned on good authority that the terms offered to Sir T. C. Hope comprised very liberal grants of waste land, coal, and oil. I have now heard they were unable to work this, and hence the matter of land grants has been given up, and resort again taken to a guarantee now under consideration. This is, I think, much to be regretted, the Government having positively stated that no more guarantees were to be given; but if Hope was working, as I understand, with houses of the "old school," it was to be expected it would not be carried through. On the 29th July 1889 I wrote to the Under Secretary as follows: "I have met with more difficulty," &c. (see p. 114). I have not been idle since then, and I believe I have done something towards the end I had in view, and that, if I had had the terms offered to Sir T. Hope, I would have worked them through. It is a pity the Secretary is yielding in this matter. As I once before wrote, to make these railways private enterprise might be encouraged "by liberal concessions of waste land, which, without such communications, may for ages remain waste, and not otherwise a convertible security, such not entailing on Government any pecuniary outlay or guarantee." Mr Bradlaugh, and men of his school, might object to these grants, as he did to the Assam-Chittagong proposed concessions; but he was unreasonable, probably from ignorance or for party purposes. I took it upon me to try and enlighten him, and I do not think he has stirred in this particular matter since I wrote him an explanatory letter, copy of which you will find enclosed. At the present moment, I believe, there are difficulties in financial circles which may interfere with what Sir T. Hope is now working, and these arise from houses preferring to work with foreign Governments holding out large financial inducements, instead of being satisfied to work with a more stable Government, and that their own. No doubt this has promoted foreign work and kept back investors from going more freely into Indian projects; but at the same time, I cannot help saying our Government are somewhat to blame, as they have erred on the wrong side, and not met the public so liberally as they might, and that to their own benefit; but they may yet retrieve this mistake by giving

liberal concessions now, and get such a country as Burmah more speedily opened out than they can do themselves. See what Sir Lepel Griffin said on this subject in his letter on Burmah in the 'Times' of Tuesday the 2d September. I wish Lord Cross would follow his advice; it would be the best way of carrying out his own expressed views.

I must apologise for writing you at such length. I do not expect you will agree in all I have written; but if you do, I will be glad if you can further my views.—I am, &c., &c.

Reply.

27th Oct. 1890.

I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of 17th inst. on the subject of a route for a railway between Burmah and Bengal. It has been added to your other contributions on the subject.

The best plan of connecting Burmah with Bengal by railway is a difficult problem, which can only be solved after very careful examination of the various routes over the mountain-chain that separates the two provinces. The evidence which you have furnished on the question will be useful in helping the authorities to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion; but the surveys which have to be made will occupy some time, and there are other lines in extension of the present system in Burmah, as well as the Chittagong-Assam Railway, which will tax the financial resources of the Government of India, so that I am afraid we must not expect any very early progress in the direction indicated in your letter. I return the enclosures to your letter with thanks.—I am, yours, &c., &c.

LETTER to Messrs N. M. ROTHSCHILD & SONS.

10th November 1890.

Having a large financial operation connected with Eastern railways in view, I take leave to ask you to favour me with an interview, with the object of placing it before you, and soliciting your aid in carrying it out.

I address you without any introduction, but I believe that, by official documents which I can submit to you, and reference

to gentlemen known to you, I will be able to satisfy you as to the *bona-fides* and importance of the matter.

I may mention that my legal advisers are Messrs Jansen, Cobb, Pearson, & Co., of Finsbury Circus, solicitors of the highest standing, and, with your permission, one of the members of the firm would accompany me. Consequent on official changes in Government departments now pending, prompt action is necessary, and I would respectfully ask to be favoured with a reply at your earliest convenience.—I am, &c., &c.

Reply.

NEW COURT, ST SWITHIN'S LANE,
LONDON, 10*th November* 1890.

Messrs N. M. Rothschild & Sons present their compliments to Mr J. O. Hay, and beg to state in reply to his letter of this morning that the business therein referred to is one they are unable to entertain.

EXTRACT from LETTER to an Indian Official.

26*th Nov.* 1890.

It was a fortnight yesterday since I called on you. I have been waiting for an expected letter from the India Office before sending in definite proposals. My letter as to the Mandalay-Shan Railway was dated 25th March, and though the India Office acknowledgment was dated 1st May, when it was said it had been sent on for the consideration of the Government of India, I have still no reply. I suppose it is always so with official correspondence, but such delay is much against satisfactory work. . . . This delay is very disappointing. Again the apparent indecision of the Government as to what is to be done and how it is to be done is very perplexing to the public —and many who have other business but would lend a helping hand in this, tell me it is no use bothering myself, I will get nothing out of the India Office! . . . It is almost heart-breaking, to make no progress after all my labour. I have been pegging away for the advancement of my old diggings Akyab for going on for thirty years. In a late paper I saw that the completion of the survey of the line through the Shan States is not to be prosecuted this season. I can hardly believe this

can be true. There is not a richer district in India to be developed than these States, and it does seem unwise to delay this work. It is said the 50 lakhs set apart for Burmah is all to be devoted to the Mu Valley line, so this may stand in the way of the Shan line. Now is the time for Lord Cross carrying out the views so strongly expressed in his address at Oldham in January 1889, but he seems now to have changed his policy—if so, it is a great pity and mistake. Did you read Sir Lepel Griffin's letters in the 'Times' on his visit to Burmah? In that which appeared on 2d September, he wrote [quotation given on p. 153]. So far back as August 1874, I wrote Lord Salisbury as to my schemes, which I said would be a great means of developing the resources of all the intermediate countries, &c. [letter, p. 17]. If advice like this had been acted on instead of being pooh-poohed as it was by Sir George Campbell and his successor Temple, we would not have had the trouble and expense of these expeditions against the Lushais. I repeated the above to Lord Salisbury in September 1888, sending copy to Lord Cross; but of course my voice is insignificant —though I do not think it can be said it spoke anything but truth!

As to Government having declared that they would give no more guarantees, you seemed to think this should be qualified. A reference to Sir John Gorst's replies when questioned in the House will show he was very positive,[1] and in a letter to myself he wrote proposals would be received, "not involving the guarantee of interest by the State"[2]—which I considered also as a positive declaration against guarantee, so never contemplated asking for any. Then as regards Sir Theodore Hope's proposed Assam-Chittagong line. In a letter from India I was told, "The terms offered comprised very liberal grants of waste land, coal, and oil, but have not proved sufficient to enable the promoters to float a company." You did not seem to think the land grant system would answer, and that it might be more expensive to Government than a guarantee. In this we differ. I think it could be worked to advantage, and wrote to Lord Cross asking for particulars, believing I could be able to carry them out—but they were not supplied. To Lord Lansdowne I wrote, "The construction of the railway might be left

[1] P. 98. [2] P. 100.

to private enterprise, its cost being covered by a liberal concession of waste land, which, without such communications, may *for ages remain waste*, and not otherwise a convertible security, such not entailing on the Government any pecuniary outlay or guarantee."[1] The opening up of Burmah *as speedily as* possible is an important matter, and deserves more consistent and vigorous action than heretofore.—Yours, &c.

Reply.

28*th Nov.* 1890.

I am in receipt of your letter, and can only say I will take a special interest in your proposals. It seems to me that railway extension in India without guarantee of interest on the part of Government is full of difficulties. Grants of waste land might be given in a few cases, but I doubt much if the necessary capital could be raised in the market with no other concession.—Yours, &c.

LETTER to the UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

31*st December* 1890.

I have had the honour to receive Mr Horace Walpole's letter, P.W. 1836, of 12th November,[2] which circumstances have prevented me sooner acknowledging.

I would respectfully ask your reference to my letter of 11th October, to which the letter now before me is a reply. It made a request for information as to the terms of the concession offered to the promoters of the Assam-Chittagong Railway project; whereas Sir John E. Gorst's letter of 16th August 1889, to which my attention is directed, was on the subject of a proposed railway from Akyab to Mandalay.

The information I asked for was not so much with reference to railway extension in Burmah as directly with reference to the Assam-Chittagong Railway itself, in which I feel as much interest as in the Burmah railways, as it was a project I suggested to the Most Honourable the Marquis of Salisbury so far back as 1874, when he was Secretary for India, as will be seen by my letter to his lordship dated 18th August 1874, from which, for easy reference, I beg to annex copy extract.[3]

[1] P. 110. [2] P. 144. [3] See p. 17.

My object in asking for particulars of the concession was not as a "fishing question," but with the *bonâ fide* intention of acting on it, as with these before me, having learned from official source that "they comprised very liberal grants of waste land, coal, and oil," I thought "it probable that I could be able to carry them out;" and seeing that the negotiations with "the promoters of the Assam-Chittagong Railway were at an end," or, as stated in the letter under acknowledgment, "the scheme had been abandoned," it was probable the Government might be still prepared to give the concessions, so as to have the railway constructed as a work of "private enterprise," which would necessarily require some Government aid, while avoiding recourse to a "guarantee."

I would further add that while my object was primarily as above stated, I had in view that the same terms might be applied to the two projects for railways in Burmah, as to which I had been previously in communication with his lordship the Secretary of State.

May I therefore now again respectfully ask to be favoured with the information, as stated in the last paragraph of my letter of 11th October, and copy of which, for easy reference, I annex.—I have the honour, &c.

Extract from Letter No. 8 of 11th October 1890.

As the negotiations with the promoters of the Assam-Chittagong Railway on the land-grant system are at an end, may I ask your lordship to be so good as to inform me as to the terms which the Government were disposed to give. It is, I think, probable that I could be able to carry them out, and so save your lordship from resiling from the resolution you had arrived at in respect of guarantee of interest.

LETTER to the Right Honourable VISCOUNT CROSS, G.C.B., Secretary of State for India, India Office, Whitehall, S.W.

LONDON, 2*d January* 1891.

MY LORD,—The development of our eastern provinces of India, and acceleration of means to that end, are such all-

important questions, that I doubt not your lordship will pardon my again addressing you on the subject of railway extension in Burmah, in continuation of the correspondence I have already had the honour to hold with your Office. I am quite aware that your lordship, as also the Government of India, are fully alive to the importance of the subject; but it may not be out of place that a non-official view of the same be brought before you, more especially as the French are pressing us hard from Tonquin for the trade of South-western China, as shown forcibly in the columns of the 'Times' of 17th September 1889; and our position with regard to connecting Burmah with China urgently calls for immediate action.

The 'Times' editorial closes with the following: "There can be no doubt that the trade of Southern and Western China is worth striving for, and it is pretty certain that it will ultimately fall into the hands of those who strive for it with the greatest amount of energy, intelligence, and perseverance."

My previous communications have mostly been based on the address which your lordship delivered at Oldham in the early part of last year, followed, as that was, by the demi-official exposition, by Sir Juland Danvers, of the position your Government took up as to enlisting the aid of the public in railway extension in India, and I am not aware that the public has received any intimation or hint that the views thus expressed have undergone any material change. True, there have appeared from time to time in the public prints rumours that the Indian Government were inclined to execute all such works by the State railway department—a late rumour being to the effect that "you have been asked to sanction the construction of the Assam-Chittagong Railway by the Government of India as a State line; and the latest, that on your declining to do so, "it had been again urged on you." Having been working, as I believed, on the lines propounded by your address before referred to, and having brought matters to the point of definitely placing tangible proposals before your Government, you can readily understand the disappointment I met with in the reply I received to the proposal I submitted for the "Burmah-China Railway Extension" in my letter of 25th March 1890, as conveyed in letter P.W. 598 of 1st May 1890, by which I was informed that it was Government's "intention to undertake for

themselves any extension of that system" (Burmah State railway system) "which may be deemed expedient, and that your lordship has approved of this course, and is not, therefore, in a position to consider the terms on which a company might be disposed to take over and extend the Burmah railways in the direction indicated in your letter;" further, "A copy of this correspondence will be forwarded to the Government of India;" and subsequently, by letter R. & I. 1149, of 29th July 1890, I learn "that no answer has yet been received from the Government of India with reference to the proposals contained in your letter of 25th March." On the subject of these proposals I therefore wait your lordship's further communications, on receipt of the views of the Government of India regarding the same. I would, however, in passing, respectfully call your attention to the following opinion expressed in one of a series of interesting letters regarding Burmah, which have lately appeared in the 'Times' newspaper (see that of 2d September) from the pen, it is believed, of a lately retired able Government administrator, who has visited Burmah during the past cold season. He says: "I cannot but think the authorities will do well to call to their assistance private enterprise and capital, instead of keeping in their own hands the construction and working of these railways, as the sooner the province is opened out the more surely will its revenue and population increase."

By the present I take leave to ask your lordship's reconsideration of the question brought before you by my letters of 14th February and 30th March 1889, as to the connection by railway of Mandalay and the port of Akyab; and I am very pressing on the subject, being thoroughly convinced that there is no line of railway so important for the development of our province of Burmah, and for the trade—both import and export—of the empire generally, as the one to which I would now respectfully and urgently again direct your attention.

In my letter of 15th July 1890 I inquired if any reports had been received of the explorations made during the late Lushai expedition of what is called by the Burmese the "Tsawbwas road," leading to Akyab, "by which it was believed a practicable route would be found for bringing Upper Burmah into direct communication with the Bay of Bengal." This is very im-

portant, considering that one of the principal objects of the Chin-Lushai expedition, besides overawing the tribes, was to secure an overland route from Bengal to Upper Burmah, as: "Thus early in the day the conclusion has been formulated, that the making of a highroad through the Lushai-Chin country is scarcely practicable, and the scheme of overland communication from Chittagong must be given up"—and so further expense, in that direction, should be avoided, and attention directed to a more practicable route farther to the south. The connection of Upper Burmah with India must undoubtedly be through Arakan, and the partial exploration above referred to of the "Tsawbwas road" points immediately to this. Independently of the difficulties shown to a more northerly route, the greater length of the route must be considered. Take the distance which our two columns had to traverse from Burmah and Chittagong respectively before a junction was effected, and then the distance between our settled districts in Upper Burmah and those in Arakan. There can be no question as to the latter being very materially shorter; and had this shorter route been adopted in the late expedition, there would have been an immense saving in every way, as compared with the actual cost of the expedition. This shorter route would have formed a base from which to work northward, with the valleys before us, instead of our troops being exhausted by crossing the ridges and gorges which they had to ascend and descend—a harassing work. It is therefore apparent that the idea of connecting Burmah with Chittagong *directly* must be abandoned.

In an administrative view, Arakan, being an important division of the Chief Commissionership of Burmah, should be undoubtedly connected by railway with the headquarters of the province. By late advices from Rangoon I learn that the Chief Commissioner is very pressing for the survey, seeing the necessity for this connection being effected. If there is the necessity for this connection, why think of a railway farther to the north, for which there is at present no special call? The port of Chittagong can be of no use to Burmah, seeing it has its own far superior port, Akyab; and the railway which is projected from Assam to Chittagong must ultimately have its terminus at Akyab, and that line, connected with the Akyab-Mandalay line, would more satisfactorily effect the avowed

object—viz., to facilitate emigration from Bengal to Burmah, strongly put forward as the *raison d'être* for the Chittagong-Mandalay connection. I am glad to say I have secured the co-operation of gentlemen connected with Bengal interested in this emigration question, which will be of service in carrying out the grand scheme hereinafter proposed. Recent reports from India state that the country to the east of Chittagong will be explored this cold season; and in view of this, and the position of matters, I would respectfully ask your special attention to the necessity for the survey or exploration, *in the first place*, of the country between Arakan and Upper Burmah, which, being under a hundred miles, could be more speedily executed than a more northerly line from any part of the district of Chittagong. I would point out, and a reference to the map will show, that by a straight line drawn on the 21st parallel of latitude from the river Lemroo in Arakan, well within our settled districts, to the Irrawaddy, also well within our settled districts in Upper Burmah, the distance, as the crow flies, is only about a hundred miles, and the actual *unexplored* part of that might not be much over half that distance. This is the line of country I referred to in my letters to your lordship of 14th February and 30th March 1889, which were forwarded to the Government of India for consideration, and to which I received reply by letter P.W. 1446, of 16th August 1889, "that the Government of India point out that a railway from Akyab to any part of Upper Burmah would pass through a tract which is not for the most part British territory." To this my letter of 25th March last was an answer; and with all due deference to the view of the Government of India, and to your lordship, who agreed to that view, I would respectfully point out that so far as my proposals went, the objection brought forward by the Government might in a far greater degree have applied to the late expedition, and the road which was constructed by it, and would apply to the further exploration contemplated this cold season. The Government reply went on to say, "While that part which is British is at present almost entirely unexplored." This was one of my chief reasons for the work, that the country should not continue to be "a perfect *terra incognita* so far as our Government is concerned." In 1874 I wrote to the Most Honourable the

Marquis of Salisbury, then Secretary for India, "Arakan has been under our Government for about fifty years, has an area of 18,529 square miles, over which it has not twenty miles of common road, its boundaries, not a hundred miles from the headquarters of the Commissioner, unknown, and altogether one of the most neglected though promising districts under the crown." Sixteen years have since passed; it is still as neglected, and as now acknowledged by Government, its boundaries still "almost entirely unexplored," and we took possession of the country in 1826! There is not another part of the empire that has been so treated.

I would now beg to say that I am financially in a position to undertake the exploration of this territory, and to repeat what I wrote under date 14th February 1889: "That this work would have a wonderful effect cannot be doubted, and the possibility of its accomplishment deserves serious consideration. Besides the development of the country, the effects of the exploration, survey, and settlement of the district would have a salutary and permanent influence on the wild tribes, which are at present giving the Indian Government so much trouble," "tending much to the development of Upper Burmah and its connection with India." "This work would also further the Government scheme of emigrating the surplus population of Bengal into Burmah by a less circuitous route than that proposed *viâ* Assam," and *the shorter distance between our settled districts in Arakan and those in Upper Burmah* (as hereinbefore shown) should have special attention when contrasted with the fact that the distance through unsettled and unexplored territory *increases the more northerly the line is taken.* The country to be explored is in shape like an egg, the base being in Arakan where that division joins with Upper Burmah.

With this I beg to hand copy of a letter I addressed on 17th May 1889 to his Excellency the Viceroy,[1] when I was informed that your lordship had given instructions for the correspondence I had had with your Office to be forwarded for the consideration of the Government of India. The influences therein referred to have been the chief cause which have so many years operated against the development of Arakan, and are still in operation, I believe, as shown in the desire for a more northerly route than

[1] Page 108.

that I advocate, being an attempt to force trade to Chittagong as under Bengal instead of its natural port Akyab, and ignoring the interests of Burmah and its claim on this trade. This is confirmed by Sir Theodore C. Hope, late Public Works member of the Governor-General's Council, in a lecture before the Society of Arts, in the following words. (I would premise that the 'Bengal influence' has heretofore endeavoured to force trade to Calcutta, to the detriment even of its own port of Chittagong; but now, seeing this cannot be accomplished, the influence is so far relaxed as to endeavour to direct it to Chittagong, being still a part of Bengal—but to the detriment of Burmah, to which all this trade should and must ultimately come by its port Akyab.) Sir Theodore Hope says: "Thus the territory to the eastward, and the entire province of Assam, are still entirely destitute of railway connection with the rest of India or their own seaport of Chittagong. A whole province is absolutely without opening up by railway. The country served by the port of Chittagong is some 19,000 square miles in area, with twice the population of Canada. . . . Chittagong[1] is the natural outlet of these vast resources, although devoid of either rail or road to the interior. Its trade has grown from some 55 lakhs to 320 lakhs in the last twelve years, and *all efforts to force the traffic to Calcutta are evidently destined to be futile.*"

As supporting the views I have advanced, I would respectfully ask your attention to the opinions of two officers of the Government long connected with the province, in responsible positions—opinions which I submit should carry weight. These are contained in letters, copies of which accompany this, addressed to me by the late Sir Edward Sladen, for some years Commissioner of Arakan, and General Alexander Fraser, C.B., R.E., formerly executive officer in Arakan, and Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah in the Public Works Department, and subsequently Secretary to the Government of India, in the same department. Both these officers point strongly to the advantages to the Government to be gained by the proposed exploration and railway, Sir Edward Sladen saying, "It would be worth millions to us strategically, and in an administrative sense also." Neither of them realised the

[1] Questionable when the capabilities of Akyab are considered.

objections suggested by the Government, the importance of which, if existent, should have been known to them from their long and intimate connection with the province.

In my letter of 30th March 1889 I stated "that my scheme would be based on the system of grants of unoccupied culturable land along the line" (a system to which I was informed the Government of India were not opposed), "with a concession . . . not interfering with the rights of any of the tribes that may at present have their location in the range.

Should the views I entertain as to the expansion of the trade of Akyab by the railways proposed to terminate there, be fulfilled, I anticipate that in time there would be a requirement for the construction of docks at that port. My anticipations as to the development of Akyab extend to seeing it a great naval depot, which would form one of the best naval defences to the port of Calcutta (as pointed out in a letter to the Admiralty, copy of which is enclosed),[1] enabling Government, in case of need, to denude the lower provinces of India of all troops, should their services be required on our north-western frontier, and the railway to Mandalay extended on through the Shan States, would also be the means of securing the safety of our frontier Chinawards, and, should such be required at any time, give aid to our ally, the Emperor of China, should his dominions be threatened. It may be said these are all very remote contingencies; they are, however, such as might occur, and my proposals would be a preparation for them.

In conclusion, I beg to ask your attention to a letter addressed to me by General Albert Fytche, C.S.I., formerly Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, and several officers who have held important positions in that province, in recommendation of my proposals, copy of which is enclosed. The original is also submitted for your lordship's information, with the request that it may be returned to me.—I have the honour to be, &c., &c.

Enclosures.—Copy of letter, J. Ogilvy Hay to his Excellency the Viceroy of India, dated 17th May 1889 (p. 108). Copy letters from the late Sir E. B. Sladen and General A. Fraser, R.E., C.B. Copy letter, J. Ogilvy Hay to the Director Naval

[1] Page 123.

Intelligence Department of the Admiralty, dated 4th February 1890 (p. 123). Copy of letter from General Fytche and others.

COPY LETTER from the late Sir E. B. SLADEN, Knight, Colonel (formerly resident at Mandalay, and in command of first expedition to Western China, late Commissioner of Arakan, and Chief Political Officer with the army in the late occupation of Burmah).

30 LOWNDES SQUARE, 28*th May* 1889.

MY DEAR HAY,—I am very glad indeed to hear that you are to the front again, and that your health has been so completely restored. I did receive the pamphlet you allude to, and would have acknowledged it had you given an address. As to your pet scheme. *Now* that we have Upper Burmah, I am more than inclined to side with you, and to say that a railway which would connect Akyab and Mandalay is most desirable commercially and strategically. There is abundance of room for it without interfering with any other line of communication either present or future; besides, in my opinion there would be ample traffic to pay, provided the cost of construction was not prodigiously in excess of that expended on other lines. When you say that under your proposals the line can be carried out without any pecuniary call on Government or any guarantee, it seems to me that half the battle is over, and that the scheme *pro tanto* must receive attention. Government would, I fancy, sanction the preliminary survey, and pay for it. Of course, there are immense difficulties in the way of starting any large undertaking of the kind, and you are a bold man to take the initiative, and be at the trouble of convincing Government to act in their own interests. I have some of the old papers relating to the project, and will look them up and refresh my memory. I may then perhaps be able to give you more effectual help. As it is, I am writing on the spur of the moment, without having thought much on the subject for some years. I shall be glad to meet you again. Are you coming to the Burmah dinner on the 21st June? I enclose a card. My kind regards to Mrs Hay.—Believe me, &c. E. B. SLADEN.

From Same.

31*st May* 1889.

Thanks for a perusal of the two enclosures. I think you have written well to the point, and your arguments are likely to receive attention and consideration. After all, it is the finance portion of the question which constitutes the main *crux* in all projects of this nature. If your Stock Exchange friends see their way to a solution of this difficulty, I look with complacency on all other obstacles. Of one thing I am convinced, and that is, that A RAILWAY ACROSS COUNTRY FROM THE BAY OF BENGAL, LATITUDE AKYAB, TO MANDALAY, WILL BE WORTH MILLIONS TO US STRATEGICALLY, AND IN AN ADMINISTRATIVE SENSE ALSO, by assisting to pacify and people the intervening tracts of valuable territory. A mountain-range would have to be crossed, but the total distance to be traversed is not great, and a careful survey would probably reduce it to a little over 200 miles. I return your two letters.—Believe me, &c.

E. B. SLADEN.

From Same.

29*th November* 1889.

I have gone through the papers you sent me yesterday, and which I returned to you this morning.

I think you have treated the question of railway extension in Burmah Chinawards rationally and well. The altered conditions brought about by the recent annexation of Upper Burmah have quite settled the point of procedure so far as it relates to the path or direction which railways in Burmah must take in any attempt to carry them on towards China. A death-blow has been dealt to the old Sprye route, so actively taken up and made their own by Messrs Colquhoun and Hallett. Not that it may not be very necessary and desirable in course of time to connect the lower province of Burmah with any railway system which the Siamese Government, as advised by Sir Andrew Clarke, may project northwards; but as a rival route for reaching China from Burmah the old Sprye route has for the time being lost all claim to priority, and hardly deserves further notice or consideration.

The object of your paper seems to be to draw public opinion

and attention to the pressing importance of the railway question as applied to Burmah, and to invite private enterprise to enter the field and bear a portion of the burden. I heartily hope you may succeed.—Yours sincerely, E. B. SLADEN.

LETTER from General ALEXANDER FRASER, C.B., R.E. (formerly Chief Engineer and Secretary to the Chief Commissioners of British Burmah in the Public Works Department, also subsequently Secretary to the Government of India in the Public Works Department).

7 BRAMHAM MANSIONS, 10*th January* 1890.

MY DEAR MR HAY,—I regret the delay in answering yours of 8th, *re* the matter of your Akyab-Mandalay-China Railway.

I look at the matter from a different point of view to that taken by General H., though, of course, his opinion should be treated with respect. I think that we must look at your project from its trade aspect *first*, in its military aspect afterwards. We cannot force trade into military lines, but we can make military dispositions meet the exigencies of trade. If you have a thoroughly good port, such as Akyab undoubtedly is, and that port is the best for the China trade, dispositions could be made, and which it would be *worth while* to make, to protect it. Rangoon, the alternative port for any extension from Mandalay of a railway to China, is a more difficult port to make, and a more expensive port when arrived at, and has not the accommodation which Akyab might be made to have for a great trade such as that with China might be expected to become. Then again, Akyab is nearer Mandalay than Rangoon, and though the railway might be costly, that would be met by a corresponding diminution in expense due to the shorter length. Turning to General H.'s arguments again for a moment, they cut both ways. I look upon it that England can only be great so long as she retains the rule of the sea. A great trade with China would certainly more than pay for an increase of her naval strength in the Bay of Bengal, which would add in other respects to the power of the Government of India. Akyab, moreover, would be very easily fortified at the entrance

to the port; so that, with Mandalay more easily accessible, with a military line of railway over the shortest route, and the base protected by the navy, there appears to me there would be an *accession* of general strength by dealing with Akyab as you propose, rather than, as General H. supposes, an accession of weakness by establishing a weak point.

Akyab would make a better naval station than any port in the Bay of Bengal, at least such is my idea from recollection, without having the chart before me.

I am therefore clearly of opinion—

1. That the trade with China would be immense.

2. That the port of Akyab is the most suitable port to take it to.

3. That the line should be broad gauge.

4. That, assuming that I am right as to the trade, there will be great accession of strength, from a military point of view, to the Government of India by the adoption of Akyab as its outlet and inlet.

5. That it is more easy to protect Akyab than Rangoon.

6. That the connection by railway of Akyab with Calcutta would follow the adoption of the former as the port for the trade of Western China.

I fear I have not time to elaborate my views to any greater extent than as above for the present, but shall be glad further to assist you, if you can point the way when you have further advanced your financial arrangements. There appears to me no doubt about the trade, and, *in my mind, there is no question but that you have suggested the proper way to get at it.* There ought to be no difficulty in finding the money to carry out a work so important to the commercial interests of the country, but in this I can't help you.

Yes; it was a matter of extreme regret to me to observe in the papers the death of my old friend Sladen. It was a great shock to me, as I had imagined him to be one of the most healthy of men.—Yours sincerely, ALEXANDER FRASER.

J. OGILVY HAY, Esq.

Reply.

P.W. 19. INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S.W.,
21st January 1891.

SIR,—I am directed by the Secretary of State for India in Council to acknowledge receipt of your letters of 31st December 1890 and the 2d instant.

With respect to your request contained in the first of these letters, that you may be furnished with a copy of the terms offered by the Secretary of State for the construction of the Assam-Chittagong Railway, I am to inform you that the Secretary of State has for some time been in communication with other parties in connection with the scheme, and that the terms on which it may be carried out are still under discussion.

As regards the exploration of the country between Akyab and Upper Burmah proposed in your letter of 2d instant, I am to state that it must be left to the Government of India to determine what should be done; and that the Secretary of State is not in a position to avail himself of your offer to undertake the exploration in question.—I am, &c.,

HORACE WALPOLE.

J. OGILVY HAY, Esq.

LETTER to the UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

No. 16. *7th May* 1891.

Referring to my letters, No. 6 of 25th March 1890 and 7th July 1890, as also to the replies thereto, P.W. 598 of 1st May, and R. and L. 1149 of 29th July 1890, I beg to ask if any communication has been received from the Government of India on the subject. As mentioned in my letter (No. 10) of 2d January 1891, I have been waiting expecting to be favoured by the Right Honourable the Secretary of State with some intimation consequent thereon.

In view of the late public declaration of his Excellency the Viceroy as to encouraging the construction of railways in India by private companies, and the concession lately granted to the promoters of the Assam-Chittagong line; moreover, considering that the late sad disaster at Munneepore must stimulate

such works, I am desirous of again bringing the question of the Burmah-China line before his lordship the Secretary of State, respectfully asking if the proposals I have already made might not be taken as a starting-point for further discussion as to terms.

Reply.

P.W. 833. INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S.W., 3*d June* 1891.

SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 7th May 1891, in which you refer to your letters regarding a proposed Burmah-China railway.

In reply I am to inform you that having left the matter in the hands of the Government of India, from whom no further communication has been received, the Secretary of State for India in Council has nothing to add to the letter addressed to you on the 21st January last.—I am, &c., JOHN E. GORST.

J. OGILVY HAY, Esq.

LETTER to a Manchester Merchant on the Burmah-China Trade-route.

23*d June* 1891.

I take leave to acknowledge the courteous and considerate attention I received from you and the other gentlemen with whom I had communication during my late visit to Manchester as to the Burmah-China Railway, the solver of the long-vexed "trade-route question." It was for long a subject of much controversy, but it has now been settled, as you are aware, by the Government having surveyed the line for a railway through the Northern Shan States, from Mandalay to the Kun-Lön Ferry on the Salween river, within twenty-five miles of the first town in the China province of Yunan, a province which has long been the goal to which the "trade-route" pointed.

The details of the surveyed route are given in the memorandum I handed to you and others when in Manchester. It now only remains for the construction of this railway to be taken vigorously in hand to have the markets of Western China thrown open to our commerce; and the object of my visit was to enlist the co-operation and support of the mercantile community, as represented by the Chamber of Commerce, to bring

pressure to bear on the Government of India, that the execution of this work be not delayed. As I have said, there is now no controversy in the matter—action alone is required.

The first gentleman I called on entered into the question with much interest, being desirous of seeing the trade of the rich districts of Western China thrown open to the enterprise of our country. He was not much engaged with trade as at present carried on with Burmah, but saw the importance the opening this line would give to the development of the productions, especially of the rich province of Szcehuen.

Another gentleman, well acquainted with Indian matters, having held a leading position in the commerce of our Eastern empire, received my representations warmly, and promised his best support in the furtherance of my views.

A third gentleman with whom I had an interview expressed the opinion "that the Government of India seem to be acting at present on a very narrow selfish policy—if indeed they have any fixed policy at all as regards Indian railways. With such an enormous undeveloped country before them, so capable of extending our commerce and manufactures, they do not seem to have grasped the importance of the subject, especially as regards *promptness* and *expedition* in constructing railways; they are doing the work but slowly themselves, and will not give sufficient encouragement to the public so as to enlist their active co-operation."

"As the principal lines of railway promise to give fair returns, they do not seem disposed to let this expected profit go out of their hands, little thinking of the loss of revenue every season's delay in the prosecution of railway works entails on the empire —loss of revenue and growth of trade. But to go on with the construction of railways, as the requirements of the times demand, very large loans must be raised, the finances of the empire being incapable of coping with the necessary outlay. Dribblets such as the revenues of the empire can spare in financing these works, delays their execution and increases the cost."

These remarks apply especially to Burmah, where the budget allotment for railways is at present fixed at £500,000 per annum. During the past year this sum has been almost entirely devoted to the Mu Valley Railway, which, though important for

local and administrative purposes, cannot be compared with the line through the Shan States for the development of the country and promotion of trade and commerce generally. This latter work has been completely shelved, even the completion of the survey has been delayed, and certainly a year lost in a work of paramount importance. This delay is apparent on all Government work on the allotment system, which cramps and delays execution; while works carried out by the public, with available capital, must always be more expeditious and less expensive.

On my suggesting to the gentleman last referred to that it would be very desirable that the Chamber should send in a strong remonstrance at the delay, and a recommendation for the speedy construction of the Burmah-China Railway, he said, "There was this difficulty in the way. Some members considered one railway, some another, as most pressingly required, according as their particular interests suggested. On one hand the Kurrachee Railway had its advocates, on the other the Orissa and East Coast line had most favour—and here I was stating the urgency of the Burmah-China line." To this I replied that a representation as to the *urgency* for the speedy construction of *of all these lines* should be pressed on Government, the necessity for each particular line being brought out prominently by their various advocates, pointing out to the Government, at the same time—what they seem unwilling to see or admit—the impolicy of delay to the detriment of the country, retarding its development, and hence a loss of revenue certain to accrue from the extension of trade generally. Doubtless Government could do all the work themselves if they went into the market and raised enormous loans—what would be required just for the three lines above named, not to mention many equally important lines also delayed ?—an operation which might militate against its credit; but this would necessitate the increase of the already extensive and unwieldy railway department, so as to become almost unworkable, and which, on the completion of the works, it would be difficult to disband. Indeed it is almost coming to a state of "fossilification," requiring new blood and life infused into it rather than extension.

Another matter the Government apparently ignores is the fact that, by giving more liberal terms of concessions, and not higgling over infinitesimal trifles, the country would be more

speedily covered with a network of railways, more rapidly developed, trade and commerce of every kind promoted, and, before long, the extra terms they now grudge would be recouped by the earlier receipt of revenue, the result of the works stimulated by more liberal terms. Much to their own injury Government are always jealous and afraid of those they have transactions with, reaping too great advantages. There is no question that the short-sighted policy in this respect is a hindrance to development and progress in every way, and retarding an enormous demand for our manufactures of every description.

From Manchester I went to Glasgow, where my representations were received with much interest, and I had satisfactory promises that the subject should be well brought before the Chamber of Commerce of that city. One gentleman, while saying that his business relations, being principally with the Straits and other more easterly ports, would not be much, if at all, affected by the Burmah-China connection, saw its importance, especially as a check to the advances he knew the French were making from Tonquin. This he was to bring as a special argument before a Committee of the Chamber and other members as to the urgency of the work, deprecating present delay, and pressing the necessity of the speedy construction of the railway as proposed by the Government survey.

In a general way my views were concurred in, and I trust to hear ere long that the Glasgow Chamber will take some decided action.

Some two years ago the Secretary for India, Viscount Cross, in an address delivered at Oldham, expressed very freely his desire to encourage private enterprise in railway works in India.

There has not as yet been much outcome of this declared policy. At the time it did not seem to be concurred in by the Executive in India—and this possibly checked it. Some months ago, however, the Viceroy, the Marquis of Lansdowne, when opening the Bengal Nagpore Railway, took occasion to contradict what he understood was a general opinion, that Government desired to keep the construction of railways in their own hands. This was satisfactory so far as it went; but when his speech came to be considered, there seemed to be little promise of great encouragement being given—it appearing that as the Government

could raise money for the purpose at 3 per cent or so, the public would be permitted to take the work on somewhat similar terms; but it is not likely the public "will rise to the occasion," and unless some more encouragement is held out and liberality shown, the construction of railways in India may remain in the hands of Government, to be executed at their leisure as heretofore, and progress and development deferred till the Greek Calends.

In conclusion, I would take leave with all deference to say what I think the action of the Chamber should be: To remonstrate strongly with Government on the delay that is taking place in the construction of important lines of railway, retarding the extension of trade and development of new markets, and this primarily owing to their undecided policy, and urging them to more liberal dealings with the public so as to enlist their co-operation—not alone by guaranteeing interest, but by concessions in any other feasible way that can be arranged to draw out the investing public.

Asking your attention to these remarks, and that you will be so good as to bring them prominently before the Chamber of Commerce and the commercial and manufacturing community generally,—I am, &c.

LETTER to the Honourable Sir C. A. ELLIOTT, K.C.S.I.,
Belvedere House, Calcutta.

LONDON, 3*d July* 1891.

I was obliged by your courtesy in replying to my letter of 10th April 1890. I did not acknowledge and thank you for it at the time, as I now beg to do, being unwilling to trouble you with correspondence. The subject-matter was railway projects in Burmah and the adjoining districts of Eastern Bengal. There has been little progress made in these during the intervening twelvemonth, and I would take the liberty of again asking your attention thereto.

With reference to the Assam-Chittagong Railway, then being promoted by Sir Theodore Hope, I understood that the terms offered to him and his friends comprised very liberal grants of waste land, coal, and oil, but these had not proved sufficient to satisfy the financiers. Believing that they were workable,

though not in possession of full details, I addressed the Secretary of State with the view of combining it with my proposals for railways in Burmah, as I am firmly in the belief that all the railways to the east of the Brahmapootra should be worked as a whole, and could be so quite apart from and independent of the rest of India. I had drawn up a sketch of a "Corporation" to undertake the work, but before I could complete it, learned from the India Office that Sir T. C. Hope had been unsuccessful, and a concession had been given for the Assam portion to parties financed by Matheson & Co. I have been in communication with Sir T. Hope's principal financial support, who was much disappointed at their non-success, and I believe is still disposed to engage in Eastern railway works if practicable. As to the expected concession to Matheson & Co., I have quite recently learned (and I think the same has been stated in Parliament) that the terms have not been finally adjusted; and in the present state of the money market and the financial position of even large houses, it is possible the *concessionaires may have difficulty or perhaps be quite unable to float it.* Under these circumstances I would be again disposed to enter the field, and if not troubling you too much, I enclose copy of the sketch I made of the "Corporation," which, I proposed, should embrace three companies to construct the railways . . . should the concession at present under arrangement fall through.

I know not whether you take the same view of the relative merits of the ports of Chittagong and Akyab for a large shipping trade that I do; but I think the general opinion of nautical men would agree with me that Akyab is unquestionably the most eligible port; and as in course of time not only the trade of Eastern Bengal—that is, to the east of the great rivers—but also the Burmah-China trade, must find its outlet at Akyab, it must become one of the largest shipping ports in India. I have long looked for this, but now fear it may not be in *my day;* but come it must, as the country and trade-routes are developed. I have often been asked, What is to be got out of Arakan? From its producing nothing but rice, people seem to think of it as a waste howling wilderness of which nothing can be made. Just the other day Sir George Chesney spoke to me of it in this spirit. To this I reply, *there is* a country to be developed and cultivated. Hitherto it has been the most neglected

province of the empire. It has been entirely dependent on its rivers for transport of its produce, which in consequence was only cultivated within easy distance of their banks. We took possession of it in 1826, and a telegram in the 'Times' of 2d February this year says, "There are not 40 miles of *pucka* road through it." The province measures 18,000 square miles! The late Sir Edward Sladen, who from his residence at Mandalay, and also from his having been his full time Commissioner of Arakan, had a good idea of the country, considered there *were* valuable tracts of land to be developed. Writing me shortly before his death as to the Mandalay-Akyab Railway he said, "A railway across country from the Bay of Bengal, latitude Akyab, will be worth millions to us strategically, and in an administrative sense also, by assisting to pacify and people the intervening *tracts of valuable territory*." It is entirely owing to the want of communication that this country has not been utilised. We do not to this day know the boundaries between Upper Burmah and Arakan, and this is not a hundred miles from Akyab. As regards the connection of Burmah with India, I have lately had some correspondence with a very intelligent explorer acquainted with the country. He wrote me as follows: "What appears to me most important is to connect the Burmah railway system with the Indian system, and I hold with you that the easiest crossing will prove to be into Arakan. North, the hills present enormous difficulties, as experienced in the Chin-Lushai expedition. I believe a railway could be run through the hills into Arakan without great expense. This connection would prove *invaluable as a means of inducing the natives of India to emigrate to Burmah*, which they will never do as long as they are obliged to take their women by sea. Your idea of the shape of the country is more or less correct." I gave it as something in the shape of an egg or a cone, the apex being the junction of Burmah and Arakan, widening out the farther north you go, so that the more northerly a line is taken the longer it would be, not only through mountainous unexplored country, but bringing us in contact with larger and more numerous bodies of uncivilised tribes. Just compare the distance between Mandalay through the Chin country or *vid* Munneepore to Chittagong, and then direct between Mandalay and Akyab. The undeveloped country on the latter line will

be found not to be a third or a quarter of the more northerly route.

I would beg to apologise for running this letter to such a length; but as it bears both on the development of Eastern Bengal and the connection of Bengal with Burmah as means of carrying off the surplus population of the former—subjects of importance to your present Government—I hope to be excused. I now conclude by asking your careful consideration.—I am, &c., &c.

In addition to the sketch of the "Corporation" attached hereto, I forward under a separate cover a "Memorandum" of the Burmah-Shan-China Railway, which has been well received in Manchester and Glasgow, two chief centres of manufactures.

LETTER to the Right Honourable the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

No. 12. *24th July* 1891.

The pleasing privilege has fallen to me to be the medium of handing the enclosed letter to your lordship.

It is, as you will see, a representation from merchants and bankers connected with Burmah as to railway extension in that country, and I may mention that the signatories embrace, with one exception, *all* the leading merchants who have establishments there.

Hitherto I have been working, I may say, single-handed, in endeavouring to promote communications by roads and railways for the development of Burmah, and it is very satisfactory to find that I now have the unanimous support of the mercantile community in this direction. In my letter (No. 10) of 2d January 1891, I handed you a letter signed by officers who had held important positions in Burmah, and I believe their views in the matter generally are concurred in by their successors in office, so that I may say I have the support also of the official community.

After nearly thirty years' labour I now hope to see some reward for my labours, and that they may soon be crowned with success.

Asking your considerate attention to the representations

and proposals I have already placed before you, begging at the same time that you will again bring them under the notice of the Government of India, which, through the Viceroy's late speech, promises encouragement to the public to engage in railway works in India,—I have the honour, &c., &c.

Burmah-Shan-China Railway.

To the Right Honourable Viscount Cross, G.C.B.,
Secretary of State for India, India Office,
Whitehall, S.W. London, 20*th July* 1891.

My Lord,—We, the undersigned merchants, connected specially with the trade of Burmah, desire respectfully to address you on the subject of the speedy extension of railway work in that country.

We are aware that at the present time the sum of fifty lakhs of rupees annually are allotted for this purpose; but seeing that the development of the country depends so much on the early construction of some important lines, and particularly the line from Mandalay through the Shan States to the borders of China, we conceive that this sum is quite inadequate to meet the necessary requirements. The line we have specially mentioned has been for all practical purposes surveyed and pronounced feasible at a comparatively moderate cost; but it is with feelings of considerable disappointment we find that the completion of this survey has not been carried out during the past cold season, and we may say everything in connection with the line has been in abeyance. True, there has been work done on the Mu Valley line which has absorbed all the allotment, and this line may be of importance for administrative and local purposes; but it cannot compete with the Mandalay and China line as of importance for the extension of the trade and commerce of the empire generally, which has been for so many years pressed on the attention of your lordship and your predecessors at the India Office.

We would strongly recommend this matter to your earliest attention, and we would feel much obliged if your lordship would favour us with an interview, when we could personally represent it to your consideration as specially affecting the

commerce we are engaged in prosecuting.—We have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's most obedient servants,

(Signed) For THE ARRACAN COMPANY, LIMITED,
JOHN HALLIDAY, *Managing Director.*
L. BIEDERMANN (BIEDERMANN, SHERRIF, & CO.)
J. & G. BULLOCH & CO.
MILNE & CO. (FINLAY, FLEMING, & CO.)
MILNE & CO., AGENTS.
BURMAH OIL COMPANY, LIMITED.
GILLESPIE & CO.
KRÜGER & CO.
For MOHR BROTHERS & COMPANY, LIMITED,
A. PHILLIPPI, *Director.*
JAMES WYLLIE & CO.
For STEEL BROTHERS & CO., LIMITED,
JOHN E. BORLAND, *Manager.*
WALLACE BROTHERS.
For THE CHARTERED BANK OF INDIA, AUSTRALIA, AND CHINA,
J. HOWARD GWYTHER, *Manager.*
For THE AGRA BANK, LIMITED,
W. BLACKHALL, *General Manager.*
For THE CHARTERED MERCANTILE BANK OF INDIA, LONDON, AND CHINA,
W. JACKSON, *Chief Manager.*
For THE NATIONAL BANK OF INDIA, LIMITED,
ROBERT CAMPBELL, *General Manager.*

Acknowledgment.

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S.W.,
25*th July* 1891.

DEAR SIR,—I am desired by Lord Cross to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th inst. on the subject of railway extension in Burmah, and enclosing a letter on the same subject signed by several firms, and I am to say that an official answer will be sent in due course.—Yours faithfully,

W. J. MAITLAND.

J. OGILVY HAY, Esq.

Reply.

P.W. 1428. INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S.W.,
14*th August* 1891.

SIR,—I am directed by the Secretary of State for India to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th instant, enclosing a representation from merchants and bankers connected with Burmah regarding the extension of railways in that country.

In reply, I am to inform you that Viscount Cross is fully alive to the importance of railway extension in Burmah, and is sensible of the advantages that would arise from the formation of a line towards the Chinese frontier.

The Government of India, and the Chief Commissioner of Burmah, are taking measures for ascertaining the most feasible route for such a railway, but the best alignment can be determined only after careful and repeated examination of the country to be traversed.

The information hitherto obtained has not enabled the Government to arrive at a decision on this point, but attention will continue to be given to the subject, and a copy of your letter will at once be forwarded to the Government of India.

Under these circumstances it does not appear to Lord Cross that any useful purpose would be gained by an interview at the present time.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

A. GODLEY.

J. OGILVY HAY, Esq.

To the BURMAH MERCHANTS and BANKERS, Signatories to the LETTER to the SECRETARY OF STATE.

LONDON, E.C., 18*th August* 1891.

GENTLEMEN,—I beg to hand copy of acknowledgment and reply from the Secretary of State for India to the letter, in which you joined, representing the importance of the speedy extension of railway works for the development of Burmah, and especially the construction of the line from Mandalay through the Shan States to the border of China, for the promotion of trade and intercourse with the rich western provinces of that empire. For reference, copy of the letter of representation is also annexed.

It is satisfactory to find that his lordship is "alive to the importance of railway extension in Burmah, and sensible of the advantages that would arise from the formation of a line towards the Chinese frontier."

I am pleased to be able to inform you that various Chambers of Commerce—say of Manchester, Liverpool, Blackburn, Bradford, and Birmingham—have sent in representations to similar purport, and these will doubtless soon be followed by the Chamber of Glasgow and other important bodies who have it before them; but the time of year, when it is difficult to arrange meetings, has prevented immediate action. All these must have a desirable effect on the Indian Government, to whom your letter has been at once forwarded.—I am, &c.

CIRCULAR LETTER sent to various MEMBERS of PARLIAMENT.

LONDON, *August* 1891.

SIR,—Being a matter of supreme importance, as affecting the manufacturing and general commercial interests of this country, I desire to ask your attention to the subject of railway extension in Burmah, and particularly as to the construction of a line from the city of Mandalay, through the northern Shan States, to the confines of the province of Yunnan in the empire of China.

The "Burmah-China trade-route" question has been before the various Chambers of Commerce of the kingdom for more than half a century, and cannot be unfamiliar to you. Until our acquisition of Upper Burmah, there was much controversy on the subject, but the local government, as well as the Supreme Government of India, have always favoured what may be called the northern route—at one time believing that it must go by way of Bhamo. Our better knowledge of the country, since the annexation, has pointed to the route through the northern Shan States, and the late Government survey of that route has now removed all doubt and controversy on the subject.

With this I take leave to hand you a memorandum embodying the result of the survey so far as it has been carried out; as also copy of a letter which has been addressed to the Secretary of State for India by merchants and bankers specially

interested in Burmah, drawing his attention to the position of matters, and urging on the Government the completion of the work, which cannot but have an enormous influence in the development of trade. His lordship's reply to this letter follows it.

Several of the Chambers of Commerce are stirring in the matter, alive to its importance, and have forwarded resolutions to the India Office to that effect. Copies of these, so far as made public, are attached for your information.

Your connection with the manufacturing districts, or your concern for the general trade of the empire, will, I feel assured, admit of my trespassing on you with the present communication, and begging your hearty co-operation in urging the subject on Government, that no further time be lost, but immediate action taken in prosecuting such an important work.—I am, &c.

LETTER to the Right Honourable the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

No. 13. LONDON, 28*th October* 1891.

In letter P.W. 303,[1] dated 6th March 1889, with which I was favoured, I was informed "that the Secretary of State would be prepared to consult the Government of India with regard to any reasonable proposals (not involving the guarantee of interest by the State) for railway extension in Burmah that might be submitted to him, accompanied by proofs of adequate financial support;" to which, under date 30th March, I replied, "But when it is required that the proposals should be accompanied by proofs of adequate financial support, it must be evident that financial houses would desire to know something of the nature of the security they were likely to have before committing themselves;" and further, on this point I would take leave to refer to my letter (No. 4) of 29th July 1889.

The correspondence has been continued by my letters—

Replies.	
P.W. 598 of 1st May 1890.	Nos. 5 and 6 of 25th March 1890,
R. & L. 1149 of 29th July 1890.	No. 7 of 15th July 1890,
P.W. 19 of 21st Jan. 1891.	No. 9 of 31st Dec. 1890, No. 10 of 2d Jan. 1891,

and No. 11 of 7th May, this latter replied to by P.W. 833

[1] P. 100.

of 3d June 1891, in which I was informed that your lordship had "left the matter in the hands of the Government of India." I have not since been favoured with any communication either from your lordship or the Government of India. I have not, however, been idle in the interval, especially as regards the matter of finance, and I have now the pleasure to inform your lordship that I am authorised to say that I have the financial support of a London house, whose name has already been several times accepted by your lordship's Government.

Waiving, so far as not necessary, or bearing on the subject, the correspondence that has passed, I would respectfully ask if your lordship or the Government of India are now prepared to entertain proposals for concessions for the prosecution of railway work in Burmah, and more particularly for the line of railway from Mandalay through the northern Shan States to the frontier of China? and if your lordship could in general terms indicate whether any of the proposals I have already submitted to your lordship could be taken as a starting-point or basis for negotiation, or what other basis would be more in accordance with the views of your Government?

It will be seen that three years have elapsed since I first took upon me to enter on this correspondence with your lordship, having previously, so far back as the 18th August 1874, addressed the then Secretary of State for India, the Most Honourable the Marquis of Salisbury, on the subject of railway works in Burmah.

The season for action is now again on, and I am quite prepared to enter on work at once, so that another season should not be lost.

The mercantile community are again lamenting the stagnation of trade, and clamorous for fresh and expansive fields for our manufactures, as shown by the various resolutions which have already been forwarded to your lordship by several of the leading Chambers of Commerce of the kingdom. There could not be a wider opening for extending our commerce than the proposed opening through Burmah into China, and I am aware your lordship is so alive to this that I need not further dilate on it.

Begging your lordship's early attention to this communication, and awaiting your reply, I have the honour, &c., &c.

Reply.

P.W. 2085. INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S.W., 10*th Nov.* 1891.

SIR,—I am desired to acknowledge receipt of your letter, dated the 28th October 1891, on the subject of railway extension in Burmah.

In reply, I am to say that any definite proposals which you may be able to make for prosecution of railway work in Burmah, *not involving the guarantee of interest by the State*, will be forwarded for the consideration of the Government of India, who, however, as you were informed by this Office, letter of 1st May 1890, have shown no desire to lease the existing lines in Burmah, or any extension of them, to private agency.—I am, &c., HORACE WALPOLE.

J. OGILVY HAY, Esq.

LETTER to his Excellency the VICEROY and GOVERNOR-GENERAL in Council.

28*th October* 1891.

As you may be aware, I have for the last three years been in communication with the Secretary of State for India on the subject of railway work in Burmah, and take leave to hand herewith copy of a letter which I received from the India Office, as noted in margin,[1] by which I was informed that his lordship had "left the matter in the hands of the Government of India."

Having had no further communication either from his lordship or from your Government, I have, of this date, addressed his lordship on the subject, and now wait on you with copy of my letter, to which I respectfully ask the early attention of your lordship in Council.

The importance of the subject of the development of trade with the great empire of China through our own province of Burmah in the speediest manner possible, as bearing on the manufacturing interests of Great Britain, cannot fail to command the special attention of your Government; and hoping to

[1] P.W. 833 of 3d June 1891, p. 164.

be favoured with your views on my communications of present and of previous dates, I have the honour to be, &c., &c.

For your lordship's information, I also enclose a memorandum showing collectively the resolutions passed by various Chambers of Commerce, as also a copy of a letter addressed to the Secretary of State for India, signed by all the merchants of London representing houses of business in Burmah.

LETTER to the 'Times,' Sir JOHN E. GORST and Railways in Burmah and Eastern Bengal.

(Not published.)

To the EDITOR of the 'Times.' *Nov.* 1891.

SIR,—I thank you for your attention to my letter on "Railways in Burmah and China," to which you were so good as give place in your issue of 27th October. I would again ask of your courtesy place for the following remarks.

The representations which have lately been made by the various Chambers of Commerce as to the necessity for the vigorous prosecution of railways in our Eastern possessions, have drawn from the India Office some views on the subject. Sir John Gorst, who has just relinquished the post of parliamentary Under Secretary on preferment to the Treasury, where, as you say, he may "display the qualities that command confidence and regard, as well as those which compel admiration," delivered an address last Friday week before the Chamber of Commerce of Liverpool, as reported in your columns of 9th inst. He doubtless there expressed the opinions of the India Office, but not exactly those of the Government of India.

Lord Cross on various occasions has expressed an opinion in favour of private enterprise for the extension of railways in India, and were the policy carried out on liberal principles, we would not have long to complain of want of railways in India. Sir John E. Gorst in his address says "the Government of India's policy was to encourage private enterprise by all legitimate means." Such may be their policy in theory; is it so in practice? Here is the question on which the whole matter

hangs. This was the policy which was enunciated some years ago by Sir Charles Elliott when at the head of the Public Works Department in India; but when his elaboration of the subject came to be analysed it resolved itself into this, that he expected, as the Government could borrow money at the rate of say 3 per cent, the public would take up railway work without any further consideration than the prospect of realising such a return,[1] and the chance of a little more *from the working of the line itself*. In this, I think, he has up to the present time been disappointed, as I would ask what line of railway of any importance has as yet been undertaken on such terms? Parties interested in the development of particular districts may be disposed to construct feeder lines without any aid beyond the simple land tract for the line (instance the Dooars short line), but that will not encourage the construction of any trunk line. It is strange financiers are more enamoured with work in foreign countries than in those connected with our own Government, more especially in such a country as India, where there is so much to be developed, but the reason is that they are more liberally dealt with; but the risks are greater. This, however, is not taken into account: it is the immediate return —ignoring the risk—which is looked to; and hence our Government, in India particularly, is much behind other countries in the extent of its railways. What would America have been without railways, and could these have been executed on the terms the Indian Government is apparently disposed to give? The answer must be in the negative. Possibly Government can construct the lines on advantageous terms by raising loans at low interest; but it cannot be disputed that in carrying out such a policy railway work must be much retarded, and it entails keeping up and increasing the already large establishment—an establishment which to a great extent, it is believed, interferes with liberal encouragement to private enterprise.

Some time ago it was thought a move in the right direction was being taken in the terms offered for the construction of the Assam-Chittagong Railway; but when the public were expecting to hear that the promoter of the line had obtained workable terms, though cut down from original expectations, other parties step in ready to do the work *cheaper*. This arrangement was

[1] How has this succeeded with the "Assam-Bengal Railway"?

supposed to have been concluded nearly twelve months ago; but what have we heard of it since? Sir John Gorst is reported to have said that "arrangements had been made, though not actually carried out."[1] It has been stated that the terms are so onerous that the concessionaires have not been able to float their enterprise, and the development of the country thrown back another year. Had the original negotiations gone on, the work would now doubtless have been in progress. This line was originally suggested, as your columns can show, nearly twenty years ago, and had it been constructed we might not have had to deplore the Munneepore massacre! The concession, it is said, expires this month (November); meantime it is reported the Government are themselves beginning the work, hoping the *cheap* terms may yet be acted on. But is this encouraging private enterprise, or the way to get the country covered with railways so speedily as it should be?

To return to Sir John Gorst's address. I would take leave to offer the following criticism on it, and endeavour to correct some erroneous impressions likely to arise from his remarks. In the first place, alluding to the desire for the extension of the railway Chinawards from Burmah, he says: "But it must be remembered that the northern districts of Burmah are infested with wild tribes, and its physical conditions presented serious obstacles." Again he says, "The existing difficulties were enormous. Engineering difficulties of course meant largely increased expenditure, &c." Now in all this I think Sir John Gorst has been speaking under a mistaken idea of the position; and unfortunately the 'Liverpool Courier' (which gives a full report of the meeting), and possibly other papers,[2] endorse these views and spread the opinion of the "enormous difficulties" and the "wild tribes." It seems as if the speaker had the old idea that the connection of Burmah with China should be by way of Bhamo. *There* undoubtedly there are wild tribes who are at the present moment giving us trouble, and *there*, as must now be admitted, the physical difficulties would be great; but as the

[1] Since thrown up, and carried out as a Government work, though *nominally* as a public company—"The Assam-Bengal Railway Co., Limited,"—Chairman, Lieut.-General R. Strachey, C.S.I., Chairman of the East India Railway Co.

[2] Unfortunately the Chamber of Commerce of Liverpool has published his address in full in its reports.

public knows, *Bhamo is not to be the starting-point for China,* but the line is to run east from Mandalay or thereabouts through the northern Shan States, where the people are *anything but wild,* and where *the difficulties will not be enormous.* The first fact is well established by the various reports of the officers who have for some time been in charge of these States, and their settled and already progressive condition nullifies the idea of any trouble with them. Moreover, they are "born traders," and with their habits are certain to avail largely of the railway when opened; indeed the engineer who surveyed the line says, "the country was profoundly peaceful, and nothing in the way of protection or escort was required beyond the usual treasure-guard." And as to the second fact, the report of the engineer already referred to completely removes the idea of difficulties or expenses. It may be asked, has Sir John Gorst seen or read the "Report on the Shan Hills Railway Survey," 1889-90, by Mr F. R. Bagley, ex-Engineer, published by the Government of India in 1890? Where can you go in constructing railways that you will not find difficulties? Is it to be supposed that railways can be made in new countries without difficulties being met with? In a report on railways in Japan we read, "It would seem that rapidly as it is progressing, railway construction has to meet with unusual difficulties, or rather with an unusual number of difficulties, owing to the physical geography of Japan." It then goes on to describe some of the works, and mentions one case of a line of 205 miles where there were "sixteen tunnels 16,000 feet long, and the bridging of eleven rivers." Now, if the Japanese can face and overcome such difficulties, is it becoming in the British lion to shrink from duty he is called on to perform in Burmah and *suggest* impossibilities by any of the difficulties that may be met with on such an important work as the connection of Burmah with China? But the survey report now before me shows in this case that the difficulties *will not be great.*

The Secretary of State in his various replies to the representations he has received on the subject says, "But a decision as to the alignment can only be arrived at after careful consideration and inquiry." Moreover, "The information hitherto obtained has not enabled the Government to arrive at a decision on this point." It seems strange under these circum-

stances that the Government of India should have published Mr Bagley's report of the survey, which clearly shows the direction the line must take, which may be supposed to be the alignment required. True, there may be slight deviations at one or two difficult points so as to reduce these—say, at the Gokteek Pass for one. It is understood the Burmah authorities consider the line as practically settled, and the public naturally received the 'Report of the Survey' as such, and as a document under authority to show what was required of "private enterprise," if such is to be encouraged in such works.

Further, it again appears Sir John Gorst has still got the idea of Bhamo in his head when he says,—"That railway communication between Calcutta and Bhamo would some day be established was pretty certain, but considerable time would necessarily elapse before it became an accomplished fact." To this I would with all due deference reply that it certainly will be a considerable time, and I will go further and say, I do not believe such will *ever* be an accomplished fact—that is, a direct connection between Calcutta and Bhamo. There is unquestionably some mistaken idea at the India Office in this matter, if those given forth by Sir John Gorst are to be taken as entertained there, and I cannot think the reports received from the Intelligence Department of their explorations in the Chin Lushai expeditions during the past two or three seasons can bear such out. Indeed it is believed the explorations might be summed up as follows: "What appears to be most important is to connect the Burmah railway system with the Indian railway system, and the easiest crossing will prove to be into Arakan. Up north the hills present enormous difficulties, as personal experience sufficiently proves, as far north as Munneepore, and through Assam they would be greater. A railway could be run through the hills into Arakan without great expense, and taken up through Chittagong, joined on to Bengal. Such a line would prove invaluable as a means of inducing the natives of India to immigrate into Burmah, which they will never do as long as they are obliged to take their women by sea."

Confirmed by this opinion, I maintain as certain that the proper connection between Calcutta and Burmah must be *vid* Chittagong through Arakan, towards the rising town of Pok-

koko at the mouth of the Chindwin river, and thence by a crossing of the Irrawaddy to Mandalay, and there join the projected railway through the Shan States leading on to China —thus carrying out the views I ventilated in your columns so far back as 1874-75, showing that the trade of Assam and the contiguous districts of Eastern Bengal must find its outlet at the port of Akyab, to which also the China trade through Burmah must also be directed.

Before concluding, I would call attention to the present position of railway work in Burmah. Under the orders of the Government of India the completion of the survey of the line through the Shan States was not proceeded with last cold season; and unless some change is made, influenced by the representations that have gone in to the Secretary of State, this work will be further delayed. The fifty lakhs allotted annually to Burmah has been and is to be spent on the Mu Valley line, for which alone it is barely sufficient; and in consequence, "it is calculated that the complete system from Sagain to Mogoung, with the branch to Kathu, will not be completed before 1896, but each year sections will be opened as they are completed." It is understood the Government of India are raising considerable sums for railway work during the next season, but this is all for "frontier railways." Where, then, is the provision for the Burmah-Shan-China Railway? and, if matters stand as at present, where is the chance of its being taken in hand till 1896?

The new appointment at the India Office augurs well for progress in India, Mr Curzon from personal observation, as shown in your article to-day, having knowledge of the wants of the country, and much may be expected to result from this knowledge.—I am, &c., &c.

LETTER to the Right Honourable the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

14th Nov. 1891.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr Secretary Walpole's letter, P.W. 2085, of 10th instant.

By this I am informed that any definite proposals—not in-

volving the guarantee of interest by the State—will be forwarded for the consideration of the Government of India.

With reference to the question of guarantee, I would ask your attention to my letter (No. 4) of 29th July 1889,[1] copy of which, for convenience, I beg to annex. I was at that time sanguine that the requirement of a guarantee by financial houses might be diverted to concessions on the system of land grants. It having, however, since become known that your lordship was again disposed to entertain proposals embracing a guarantee, and had indeed conceded such to an important line now in course of arrangement, the current in favour of guarantees has again set in, and I believe it will now be found impossible to raise funds for the construction of railways in India by private enterprise *without a guarantee.* For short feeder lines for local purposes it may be otherwise, but not for a line through a new country such as this line through the Shan States is.

My attention has now been given to the address just delivered by Sir John Gorst, late parliamentary Secretary for India, before the Chamber of Commerce of Liverpool (a body particularly interested in this line), in which he reiterates the previously expressed desire of Government "to encourage private enterprise by every legitimate means." Under these circumstances I take leave to submit to your lordship definite proposals for the line from Mandalay to Kun-Lön Ferry, as in the enclosed memorandum. . . .

As expedition in this matter is of the greatest importance, in accordance with the urgency of the resolutions of the various Chambers of Commerce, forwarded to your lordship, and having made necessary arrangements for financing the work, as intimated in my last letter, I would further state that I am prepared to enter on the work *at once,* and proceed with it with the greatest possible celerity.

With the view of avoiding delay and saving a whole year, I would respectfully suggest the free use of the telegraph in communicating with the Government of India,—and I have the honour to be, &c., &c.

[1] P. 114.

LETTER to his Excellency the VICEROY and GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

14th Nov. 1891.

Referring to the letter I had the honour to address to your lordship under date 28th October 1891, I now beg to wait on you with copy of the reply I have received from the Secretary of State for India to the letter to his address, copy of which I then handed to you.

I now beg to wait on your lordship with copy of letter which I have this date forwarded to his lordship the Secretary of State for India, handing him definite proposals for the construction of the Burmah-Shan-China Railway, in accordance with his desire for submission for the consideration of your lordship's Government.

In view of the season of the year, you will see the force of my respectful suggestion as to the free use of the telegraph for the speedy settlement of this matter.—I have the honour to be, &c., &c.

Reply.

P.W. 2209. INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S.W., *2d Dec.* 1891.

SIR,—I am directed by the Secretary of State for India in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th ult. submitting proposals for the construction of a railway in Burmah from Mandalay to the Chinese frontier.

In reply I am to inform you that the Secretary of State is unable to entertain the proposals stated in the memorandum accompanying your letter.—I am, &c. HORACE WALPOLE.

J. OGILVY HAY, Esq.

LETTER to the Right Honourable the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

8th December 1891.

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of Mr Secretary Walpole's letter, P. W. 2209, of 2d. Dec. 1891, informing me that your lordship was unable to entertain the proposals accompanying my letter (No. 14) of 14th Nov. 1891, for the construction of the railway from Mandalay through the Shan States to Kun-Lön on the Salween.

These proposals were considered and prepared in conjunction with gentlemen acquainted with the country, its requirements, and the work to be done, as also with the feelings of financiers as to that department. They were submitted in compliance, as it was understood, with a desire on the part of your lordship to know on what terms the work could be undertaken, when I was informed that my proposals would be forwarded for the consideration of the Government of India. It was not supposed that these proposals would at once be received in their entirety, but there was necessarily a difficulty in at once formulating terms acceptable to all parties, and what may be primarily put forward must be worked and accommodated to mutual satisfaction. I cannot therefore help expressing my own disappointment, and that of the friends working with me in this important matter, that your lordship should not have seen your way to entertain the proposals, while withholding any intimation as to the lines and terms on which a *modus operandi* could be established. I am writing always on the assumption that your lordship as well as the Government of India are desirous of acting on the intimation made both in India and this country, that the policy of Government was to encourage private enterprise by all legitimate means in the construction of railways and other works for the development of the country, and the extension of trade and commerce.

In view of the difficulties, which on several occasions have officially been stated to be "enormous," and that "engineering difficulties of course meant largely increased expenditure," it must be self-evident that considerable inducement must be held out to "private enterprise" to take it up, especially in a new country, very different from what may be expected in the more known and settled districts of India proper.

Though my own knowledge of the engineering difficulties is necessarily limited, I am working with good advisers in that department—gentlemen of experience—in whom Government could not fail to put confidence; and the importance and urgency of the work induce me again respectfully to bring it under your lordship's consideration, in the hope that a workable arrangement may be arrived at, as much in the interest of the Government and the country as of the subscriber.

The latest public advices from Burmah are to the effect that

the present allotment for railway work in that country, say fifty lakhs per annum, is to be devoted entirely to the Mu Valley line, which, though doubtless very important for local and administrative purposes, cannot accomplish what is required for the development and extension of trade so urgently pressed on your lordship by the whole mercantile and manufacturing communities of the kingdom; and such being the financial position of the question, it is calculated that as the Mu Valley work cannot be completed before 1895 or 1896, so the Burmah-Shan China connection must be deferred till that date, and its construction delayed for some years thereafter, unless extraordinary and extraneous action is taken both as to funds and constructive work.—I have the honour to be, &c., &c.

Reply.

No. 2384. INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S.W.,
14th January 1892.

SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 8th December 1891, offering some further observations in respect to railway extension in Burmah towards the China frontier.

In reply I am desired to inform you that previous proposals by you on this subject have been transmitted to the Government of India, to whom a copy of your letter under reply will also be sent.—I am, &c., GEORGE N. CURZON.

J. OGILVY HAY, Esq.

EXTRACT from LETTER to his Excellency the VICEROY and GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA in Council.

18th December 1891.

By the present I beg to hand you copy of his lordship's reply. I further beg to wait on you with copy of a subsequent letter I addressed to his lordship (the Secretary of State for India), under date 8th December 1891, to which I respectfully ask your lordship's attention. The importance of the speedy prosecution of the railway connection between Burmah and China in the interest of the empire generally, as well as for the development of Burmah and the Shan States, is so great and

urgent, that I feel confident it will be my excuse for bringing it strongly to your notice.—I have the honour to be, &c., &c.,

Acknowledgment.

No. 69 R.C. Gov. of India, P.W.D.
Railway Construction. CALCUTTA, 18*th January* 1892.

SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 14th November and 18th December 1891, to the address of his Excellency the Governor-General in Council, forwarding copies of correspondence with the Right Honourable the Secretary of State regarding the proposed construction of a railway from Mandalay through the Shan States to Kun-Lön Ferry, on the Salween river.

In your later letter you ask the attention of the Governor-General in Council to the importance of the speedy prosecution of the railway connection between Burmah and China. It is observed, however, from the correspondence, that the Secretary of State lately expressed his inability to entertain the proposals you have put forward, and that you have again addressed his lordship on the subject on the 8th December last. Under these circumstances the result of this communication will be awaited before any further action is taken.—I have, &c.,

F. B. HEBBERT,
Offg. Under-Secretary.

LETTER to his Excellency the VICEROY and GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

8*th January* 1892.

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your lordship's secretary's letter of 9th December 1891, and to thank you for your promised consideration of my previous letters.

Noting a telegram in the 'Times' intimating that a conference is to be held this month in Calcutta of officers connected with Assam and Burmah, to take into consideration our relations with the tribes on our frontier, and being much interested in the matter, as bearing on the proposals I have on several occasions made for the extension of railways in Eastern Bengal and

Burmah, I addressed a letter to the Secretary of State for India on the 5th inst.,[1] asking to be favoured with copies of reports made of expeditions into the Chin and Arakan Hills during seasons 1889-90. I hope to receive these shortly; meantime beg to hand your Excellency copy of my letter, and respectfully ask your reference to my previous letters therein noted, copies of which I doubt not were forwarded to your Government from the India Office.—I have the honour, &c., &c.

LETTER to the 'Times,' as to CALCUTTA CONFERENCE ON EASTERN FRONTIER POLICY.[2]

(Not published.)

To the EDITOR of the 'Times.' *21st January* 1892.

1. SIR,—In 1875 I had published by Mr Stanford, of Charing Cross, a map showing various routes for the development of trade in Eastern Bengal and Burmah, including trade with China through the latter country; that was before our acquisition of Upper Burmah, a circumstance which has altered some of the features in the proposals mooted, from the better knowledge we now have of our surroundings. A copy of this map was submitted to you at the time, and you were pleased to notice it in a short review in your issue of 2d October 1875.[3] In your columns of 9th *idem* you gave place to some explanatory remarks from me in reply, stating my object in publishing the map.

2. Late telegrams in your paper report an approaching conference in Calcutta of various officers of Government, including the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and the Chief Commissioners of Assam and Burmah, to discuss the future administration of the "Lushai country." In view of this conference, I think it opportune to call attention to the map above alluded to, and, asking your kind attention to the following remarks bearing on the subject, I beg to hand you herewith a copy of the map for reference, more especially as the principal of the routes sug-

[1] P. 215.

[2] While going through the press, this letter, with the map, has been returned "with the Editor's compliments and thanks."

[3] P. 15.

gested are being realised—when they may be so in full remains in the womb of futurity. The paragraphs from your columns above referred to you will find on the map.

3. As is well known, the borders of our provinces of Assam, Chittagong, and Arakan were the constant scenes of raids from the wild tribes in their neighbourhood, and it may be in your recollection that a little girl named Mary Winchester was carried away in one of these raids, leading to an expedition into the Lushai country in the season of 1871-72 for her recovery, and the punishment of the raiders. Columns started from Cachar and Chittagong, and a wing of a Madras regiment was sent to Akyab to march through the Arakan hill tracts to join them. I need not go into the details of this expedition, which, after the usual burning and devastation, returned victorious, a temporary terrorism having been established. Our frontiers, however, continued to be kept in a constant state of alarm, until there was a burst on the Chittagong frontier in 1888, "when Lieutenant Stewart of the Canadian Regiment was shot, and some others of the survey party he was in charge of cut off." This led to another expedition into the Lushai country, accompanied by the Commissioner of Chittagong as civil officer in charge. The usual "march up and march down" took place, accompanied by the usual burning and destruction of property (including grain), the principal feature for remark being the proclamations of the civil officer, that unless submission was made "villages would be burned." This is civilised policy in this enlightened nineteenth century!

4. Shortly after this affair with Lieutenant Stewart's party, and in anticipation of the expedition just referred to, I wrote in a prominent paper,[1] "The raids," &c. [see p. 87]. In writing in another place as to the abandoned Chittagong-Arakan road, I wrote: "It would have done much towards the civilisation and development of the country to the north and east of Chittagong and Arakan, with which we may yet have trouble,—not that this road would have gone through those districts, but it would have attracted settlers along its route, and they would gradually have come in contact with the wild tribes on our borders, creating intercourse which would doubtless have had a civilising influence over them, paving the way for what we now

[1] In the 'Scotsman,' 31st December 1888.

require — access through their territory. There have been two raids lately—the first (previously referred to) after so many years of quiet, in which Lieutenant Stewart was shot; the second, said to be by Shendoos from the Arakan hills, when three men and a woman were killed, and nine men and fifteen women were taken captive. A succession of these occurrences may have the effect of getting up a general agitation along the frontier." Colonel Woodthorpe, of the Indian Survey Department, in a paper read before the Royal Geographical Society giving an account of his explorations in the Chindwin valley, referred to our relations with the Nagas and Singphoos on the borders of Assam, showing that in time past our Government had been somewhat remiss in not opening up intercourse more freely with these tribes, and we were now reaping the fruits of this remissness, as, when we now wanted a passage through their country, we found them obstructive.

5. "Until we can get a position in their very midst, the most effectual way to deal with these tribes would be the construction of a railway by the *shortest* route from Arakan to Upper Burmah. This would form a basis from which to work northward in bringing these tribes under our civilising influences. This is as important a matter as any that can be considered in connection with our under-populated province of Burmah and our over-populous districts of Bengal, from the latter of which it is proposed to migrate settlers to grants in Burmah. Doubtless it will be said the country is too rugged to attempt such a work, but engineering skill can overcome all obstacles; and considering the importance of the work, both as regards *its effects on the tribes* and the facilities it will give to carry out the immigration scheme into Burmah, all obstacles to its accomplishment must be removed."

6. As to the country through which the above-mentioned railway would go, much information has been gained by the Intelligence Department during the past two years, particularly by a reconnaissance made in February to May last year by Lieutenant Walker, report of which has been published, showing that the route is perfectly practicable without any of the "stupendous political features" which have for many years been put forward to shelve such an important work—a work the importance of which is now gradually dawning on official

minds, and which possibly the coming conference may determine to carry out.

7. At the time of the expedition of 1871-72 I was resident in Arakan, and had had my attention previously directed to the isolation in which this province stood, owing to its having no connection by road or rail either with Chittagong on the one side or Burmah on the other, the consequence being that the country was perfectly undeveloped and unexplored, and its trade entirely confined to rice grown in the immediate vicinity of the rivers and creeks with which the country is intersected, these being the only means of bringing produce to market. What improvement is there in this respect up to date? A recent telegram from your Rangoon correspondent said there were not forty miles of common road in the province, and it has been officially stated that its boundaries not a hundred miles from the Commissioner's headquarters are unknown; and we took possession in 1826!!

8. At the time of the Burmah war of 1852-53, the then Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, ordered the construction of a road from Chittagong to Akyab with the view of marching native troops to Burmah, some of those ordered there during the war having refused to cross the "Kala-panee." After lakhs of rupees had been spent on this road, the late Sir Henry Durand was deputed to report on it, the consequence being (a foregone conclusion) that the road was abandoned, and the line of earth has since returned to its original virgin state. This was at the time considered by those connected with the province a penny-wise pound-foolish policy, but financial pressure for other purposes carried the day, to the neglect of Arakan. What would have been the benefit to the country had its construction been completed? All the coolie labour required in the great rice-trade comes from Chittagong, and the country wants settlers. Had the road been made, the bulk of the coolies, instead of coming and going with the seasons, would in all probability have settled down and helped to increase the cultivation and general development of the province. It would also have been of inestimable importance had there been any opposition on the part of the Burmese in the last war.

Another instance of neglect of Arakan may here be mentioned, which led to a sad calamity. I allude to the assassina-

tion of the Governor-General, Lord Mayo, at the Andamans. When it was known he was to visit Burmah, representations were made to him that he should visit Akyab to see its neglected state and its capabilities. He was earnestly entreated, indeed *beseeched*, to make a call at the port on his way to or from Rangoon. Stronger influences, however, than a feeble voice from Arakan were used to divert his attention from what should have been considered a duty, to a needless, useless visit to a penal settlement, and hence a terrible punishment for a dereliction of duty—a noble victim sacrificed, bad advisers escaping scathless. Alas! alas! Bengal influence has been the bane of Arakan ever since we took possession of it, using it as a good milch cow! These were the experiences of a bygone past; good times are now looming in the future, and the enlightened policy which the coming conference will doubtless inaugurate, will, it is hoped, result in benefit to Arakan, and bring Akyab to the front as one of the most rising ports in India!

9. In viewing all these preceding matters, I had my attention also directed to the fact that there was no probability of the Eastern Bengal Railway being continued on from its terminus at Goalundo (which still continues its terminus), and all these circumstances combined led me to the conclusion which I endeavoured to express by the map previously referred to—viz., "that all the trade of Eastern Bengal (to the east of the Brahmapootra) must find its outlet at Akyab, and that the line of communication would be necessary for connecting Burmah with India, being joined by the line from Akyab to Upper Burmah."

10. These views were placed before the Marquis of Salisbury, then Secretary for India, in letters dated 18th and 27th August 1874,[1] extracts from which are attached, and which I would ask you to consider in this connection. These letters were, of course, written under circumstances which have been completely changed by the taking of Upper Burmah and the increase of population in Bengal, as it is now seen that *our own* teeming population should be sent to Burmah (instead of importing Chinese settlers, as then thought to be required), and for this purpose the shortest route should be selected for a rail-

[1] Pp. 17 and 19.

way. Being specially important, however, I here give the summing up of letter of 18th August 1874: "It may be a long look for the fulfilment of this idea, but it is one which must be followed out; and the sooner steps are taken in the direction indicated, and *encouragement given to private enterprise*, the sooner will the fruit be reaped—such fruit being the increase of revenue, and the spread of what should be the *civilising influences of our rule over the savage tribes on our borders.*

These views were continuously brought to the notice of the authorities in India, including Governor-Generals, Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal, and Chief Commissioners of Burmah, from their first publication up to 1878, when illness obliged me to cease my labours for a time and leave India.

I would further remark that, in 1888, the attention of Lord Salisbury was called to the communications made to him in 1874. At the same time the present Secretary of State for India, Lord Cross's, attention was directed to the subject, and copies of these letters were sent to the Marquis of Lansdowne, who had then received the appointment of Governor-General of India. Had attention even then been given, there might have been no Munneepore disaster; at all events, many other lives might have been saved which have been sacrificed in various expeditions to punish the wild tribes.

As mentioned by Sir Richard Temple in his paper in the 'New Review': "Fortunately it happens that the Government of India have already got a scheme for connecting Assam—that is, the upper valley of the Brahmapootra—with the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal," a connection which should have been made years ago, but still hangs fire, the final arrangements for its construction not yet having been completed. Sir Richard goes on to say: "And Chittagong, already a growing port, will be the emporium for much produce that has hitherto gone to Calcutta." In this I entirely disagree, and give expression to my view by the following extract from a letter addressed to his Excellency the Viceroy, dated 17th May 1889, when I advocated the comparative merits of the port of Akyab over those of Chittagong. [See p. 198.]

In conclusion, I would ask of you your powerful advocacy of the views here given—viz., that the railway, the line of which has already been surveyed from Debroghur, in the north of

Assam, to Chittagong, should be extended to Akyab; that connection should be made between Akyab and Mandalay; and that the construction of the railway from Mandalay to the borders of China (already surveyed) should be undertaken without delay. This latter will fulfil the long and oft-repeated cry of our manufacturers for the development of trade with Western China, and all the proposals combined will not only develop that trade and the trade of Eastern Bengal and Burmah, but will be the sure solution of our frontier troubles, to discuss which the conference is now about to be held in Calcutta.—I am, &c., &c.

A writer in the 'Manchester Guardian,' in a letter dated 11th January 1890, said: "If, acting upon the suggestions of travellers in the country, the activity of the Indian Government in sanctioning the preliminary survey (now in progress) is an earnest of what is to follow, a couple of years hence may see the 'iron horse' pursuing its journey daily to the Yunnan frontier, if not beyond, thus bringing discussion on the subject for the past fifty years to a happy consummation."

Yes, so it might have been. Government began well, but how have they proceeded? A survey was made (though not quite complete), and a report of it was published showing that the route was very feasible, and would not be very difficult or expensive; but after one year's work the survey and all connected with it was suspended, the following paragraph appearing in the Provincial Administration Report of 1889-90: "Under the orders of the Government of India, this work has been discontinued before a definite result could be arrived at"—why this action, deponent sayeth not,—the reason unknown to the local government, which was strongly in its favour; and its resumption is only to commence in the cold weather of 1892-93. There is a lukewarmness about this work which is most amazing to the outside world, as undoubtedly the development of the country is retarded, and a certain expansion of trade for our manufactures delayed and obstructed.

The 'Manchester Courier' thus writes on 30th January 1890: "In one province of China alone, within easy reach by rail from

Burmah, if only the railway was laid there, is a population so vast and wealthy as capable of absorbing a very large part of the trade of Lancashire, if means of communication were opened up." This is what is wanted. The millions of people in the Shan States, in Yunnan, and in other parts of China, would become willing purchasers of our goods, if only they could be brought to them. What, then, is the difficulty? If such almost incalculable advantages are to spring from the construction of a few miles of railway, how is it that the railway is not made?

LETTER to his Excellency the VICEROY and GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

22d Jan. 1892.

I last addressed your Excellency on the 8th January 1892. In a previous letter, under date 18th December 1891, I forwarded copy of a letter I addressed to the Secretary of State for India of 8th *idem.* I now beg to wait on you with his reply,[1] by which I understand that the whole matter rests with your Excellency's Government.

Under another cover I forward for your Excellency's acceptance copy of a map which I had published by Stanford of Charing Cross in 1875, showing proposals for lines of railway to develop and civilise our possessions to the east of the Brahmapootra; and in view of the conference soon to be held under the orders of the Government of India for the discussion of frontier matters, I ask you respectfully to consider the views I endeavoured to express by that map. Last week I took the liberty of addressing a telegram to his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, asking him respectfully to submit to your Excellency in Council a letter which I addressed to him on the 3d July 1891,[2] to which I would also ask your careful attention.

I am prepared to undertake the formation of the "Corporation," of which I then gave a sketch, the carrying out of which, I humbly consider, would be a "sure solution of our frontier troubles."—I have the honour to be, &c., &c.

[1] P. 188. [2] P. 168.

COPY OF TELEGRAM to his Honour the LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF BENGAL.

LONDON, 15*th January* 1892.

Re Chin conference. Kindly submit my letter, 3d July, respectfully to attention Viceroy in Council. Prepared undertake whole. Sure solution frontier troubles.—HAY.

Acknowledgment.

No. 298 R.C., Gov. of India, P.W.D.,
Railway Construction. CALCUTTA, 15*th March* 1892.

SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letters, dated 8th and 22d January 1892 respectively, to the address of his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General, with which you enclosed copies of further correspondence with the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India in connection with certain proposals submitted by you for extending the railway system in Burmah eastwards to the China frontier, together with a map illustrating these proposals.

I am to inform you that since P.W.D. letter No. 69 R.C., dated 18th January 1892, was written in answer to your letters, dated 28th October and 14th November and 18th December 1891, the Government of India has received from the Secretary of State copies of the communications marginally noted.[1]

With reference to this correspondence, I am to say that pending the results of the detailed survey through the Shan States to Kun-Long Ferry on the Salween river, which will be undertaken, as intimated to you, by the Secretary of State, his Excellency the Governor-General in Council considers that it would be premature to further discuss any proposals for constructing a railway in that direction. It is intended that the survey in question shall be set in hand next cold weather.—I have the honour, &c.; &c. J. G. FORBES, Col. R.E., *Secretary.*

J. OGILVY HAY, Esq.

[1] (1) Letter from the India Office to Mr J. O. Hay, No. P.W. 2112, dated 2d Dec. 1891. (2) Letter from Mr J. O. Hay to the India Office, No. 15, dated 7th Dec. 1891. (3) Letter from India Office to Mr J. O. Hay, No. P.W. 2369, dated 18th Dec. 1891. (4) Letter from the India Office to Mr J. O. Hay, No. P.W. 2384, dated 18th Jan. 1892.

From an Indian Official.

27th Jan. 1892.

"It is understood to be quite decided that in the present state of the country the Government will keep railway business in its own hands. Private enterprise may doubtless come in a little later."

Note.—How does the above agree with the Viceroy's declaration and the views of the Secretary of State as to encouraging PRIVATE ENTERPRISE?

LETTER to the Right Honourable the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

5th Feb. 1892.

I have had the honour to receive Mr Secretary Curzon's letter, P.W. 2384, of 14th January 1892, by which I am informed that all my communications on the subject of railway extension in Burmah towards the China frontier have been forwarded to the Government of India, with whom, therefore, I presume a decision in the matter will rest, and I consequently address his Excellency the Viceroy in Council.

Having been informed that your lordship has completed arrangements for the construction of the Assam-Chittagong Railway with a company about to be brought before the public, I take leave again to ask your attention to the question of the connection between Upper Burmah and the division of Arakan, with extension towards India as far as the river Megna. In my letter (No. 10) of 2d January 1891 I wrote your lordship very fully as to this connection, and respectfully beg your *special* reference to that letter. Since then an expedition was despatched from "Minbu, in Upper Burmah, *viâ* the Aeng Pass, under charge of Lieutenant Walker, 1st Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry, *attaché* of the Intelligence Department, which returned in the direction of the 'Sawbwas' route to Laungshe." The report of this expedition clearly shows that either route is feasible and practicable; the comparative advantages of the one over the other would be the cost of bridging creeks as against tunnelling. Of the one route he

says: "Were it opened and cleared, it would be an excellent, easy, and short means of communicating between Arakan and Burmah. The Taungmin of Kindwe remarked 'that we had done well in coming across by this route, and would do a great deal of good by doing so. The Kindwe people would dearly like to see a brisk trade between Arakan and Burmah, passing by this route; while Laungshe, twenty-eight miles further east, would revive and become what it once was before, a thriving town.' This is said of the Sawbwas route." Of the other route, *vid* the Aeng, he says: "The distance over the pass is short, and the wide plains of Arakan merely require the creeks to be bridged. It is superfluous to point out the impetus trade would receive by the construction of a railway along this route, and unnecessary to draw attention to the present tedious journey which is involved in going from the Irrawaddy into Arakan. There would be established the means of communication between India and Burmah—a consummation I would imagine that is, or will be, ultimately aimed at in every undertaking in this country which deals with roads and communications."

As regards the state of the country Lieutenant Walker remarks: "The whole country is perfectly quiet. Indeed I might have travelled the whole way over by myself, and have dispensed with my escort of fifteen men," so there would be no trouble with the people.

This report confirms the view I have all along held that the connection between Burmah and Arakan is absolutely necessary, not only for opening up the country, but also as the highway between Burmah and India, and the highway for immigration from Bengal to Burmah.

For the prosecution of this work a more thorough survey, however, is necessary, and I would now repeat what I said in my letter of 2d January 1891 before referred to, that I am *financially* in a position to undertake the exploration of this territory, and shall be pleased to learn that your Government is willing to enter on negotiations on the proposals I have already made, or is prepared to state on what terms a workable arrangement can be arrived at, in the interest of the country and the general commerce of the empire.

In Mr Secretary Walpole's letter, P.W. 19, of 21st January

1891, I am informed "that it must be left to the Government of India to determine what should be done as regards the exploration" proposed. I would therefore ask that this communication should be forwarded to India as early as possible. As I have said, *I am prepared financially* to undertake it, and to provide a staff of surveyors or to employ those of the Government, and the work could be arranged to commence on the cessation of the coming rains.

The merchants of Akyab are very pressing as to the necessity for developing their district, which, except for the rice-trade, has lain fallow for the last sixty years. Seeing the step taken for opening up Assam and contiguous districts, they will be more pressing that their district should not longer remain isolated and without land communication with adjoining countries.—I have the honour to be, &c., &c.

Letter to the Secretary of State for India.

5th February 1892.

Late telegrams from Calcutta announce that the conference on the Chin-Lushai frontier matters has been held and their report sent in to the Government. It is believed that their recommendations tend towards the prosecution of roads and railways for opening up the country where we have hitherto had so much trouble with the tribes.

With this information before me, I take leave to offer for your lordship's acceptance copy of a map which I had prepared in the year 1875 (referred to in my letter (No. 2) of 14th February 1889, to which I would ask attention), showing my views *then* as to the development of our Eastern provinces; these views were also placed before the Secretary of State for India in a letter dated 18th August 1874. Unfortunately they were not entertained, or the expenditure of much life and treasure might have been saved, as subsequent events have proved. As my late correspondence with your lordship shows, my views remain unchanged, and I am glad to think they are now being gradually realised by the action of your Government, notably in the arrangements which it is understood have just been concluded for the Assam and Chittagong Railway, which I had

at one time hoped to have embraced in a large scheme covering all Eastern Bengal and Burmah; but I trust my proposals separately submitted to your lordship for carrying out the rest may be favourably received.—I have the honour to be, &c., &c.

Reply.

P.W. 218. INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S.W., 23*d Feb.* 1892.

SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge and thank you for your letter dated the 2d [5th?] February 1892, in respect to railway extension between India and Burmah, and I am to state in reply that copies of the communications in question have, in accordance with your request, been transmitted to the Government of India.—I am, &c., HORACE WALPOLE.

J. OGILVY HAY, Esq.

LETTER to his Excellency the VICEROY and GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

5*th February* 1892.

I had the honour to address your Excellency on the 22d January 1892, when I informed you that I had by telegram asked his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to submit to your Excellency in Council certain proposals I brought before him for the purpose of settling and developing our Far East provinces. Since then it has been rumoured that arrangements have been made for a company to undertake the construction of the railway from Assam to Chittagong, with certain officers of Government on the board of direction. It is evident that with such competitors in the field I could have no chance.

This part of my scheme having gone past me, but showing the desire of the Government to carry out their declared policy of "encouraging private enterprise," I am the more hopeful that my remaining proposals may be taken into your Excellency's favourable consideration.

With this view I have addressed a letter to the Secretary of State, of which I beg to enclose copy. I there offer to explore the country between Upper Burmah and Arakan, and have the

whole line surveyed for connecting Burmah with India through Arakan as far as the river Megna, and this, joining with the Assam-Chittagong line, would carry through the whole scheme, and, as I said in my last, be the sure solution of our frontier troubles. It would also promote immigration from Bengal to Burmah, so much desired.

Circumstances have very much changed since my letters of 14th February 1889 and 30th March 1889, which, by your Secretary's letter of 15th July 1889, I was informed had been referred by the Secretary of State for the consideration of the Government of India. The explorations made by Lieutenants Rainey and Walker of the Intelligence Department in seasons 1889, 1890, and 1891, clearly show that the farther north a line is taken from Mandalay westward, the longer the distance and the greater the difficulties; while I believe a thorough survey, such as I propose, would reveal a comparatively easy country, and one also capable of development to some purpose. Lieutenant Walker's report also shows that the people in the intervening territory are quiet and amenable to authority, which, considerately though firmly administered, they are prepared to submit to.

Under these circumstances I respectfully ask that my proposals may be favourably entertained, and a *modus operandi* effected.—I have the honour to be, &c., &c.

Reply.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA,
27*th Feb.* 1892.

SIR,—I am directed by the Viceroy to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 5th instant with enclosures, relating to your proposal to undertake the exploration of the country between Burmah and Arakan with a view to railway construction.

The matter will receive his Excellency's consideration.—
Yours faithfully,
J. C. ARDAGH, Colonel,
Priv. Sec.

J. OGILVY HAY, Esq.

EXTRACT from a LETTER to an Indian Official.

March 1892.

I have in various ways endeavoured to elicit from the India Office some idea of the terms that might be worked out, but hitherto without any result. On the 25th October 1891 I wrote asking, "If your lordship could, in general terms, indicate whether any of the proposals I have already made can be taken as a starting-point or basis for negotiation, or what other basis would be more in accordance with the views of Government?" To this I got a reply that "Any definite proposals which you may be able to make for prosecution of railway work in Burmah, *not involving the guarantee of interest by the State*, will be forwarded for the consideration of the Government of India." To this I replied by letter, dated 14th November (p. 184), making definite proposals, and to this I got this rejoinder: "The Secretary of State is unable to entertain the proposals stated in the memo. accompanying your letter."

. . . . . .

To put it plainly, what terms do you think would go down with the public? and on what terms, if you were engaged in the matter, do you think you could carry it through? The Government may say we will give so-and-so; but were they in the position of the public, would they accept such terms, or could they work such through? There is no question, if the terms are low, there will be after disagreeables, as in times past, giving almost a dislike to such work in India. I feel *specially* interested in connecting Akyab both with Bengal and Upper Burmah, and would work it as no other man would do.

Doubtless you have heard ere this of the poor way the Assam-Bengal Railway scheme has been met. Though the terms were very low, I thought, in the present state of the money market, it would have been readily taken up by those wanting something safe, but it has not gone down. The whole amount offered was, I believe, *underwritten*, but the underwriters are now left with the bulk on their hands.

I have just had a call from the President of one of the Chambers of Commerce in an important part of Lancashire. The manufacturers are getting tired of waiting for the opening

of the trade with Western China, and he tells me a deputation is shortly to go up to the Secretary of State on the subject.

Lord Cross at Manchester, April 23, 1892.

Lord Cross, at a luncheon which followed the opening of a new Conservative club and public hall at Chorlton, Manchester, in responding to the toast of "Her Majesty's Government," said that he had the honour of holding a high position, of having in his hands the destinies of nearly three hundred millions of people. He did not deny that the duties of the office were arduous, and that sometimes they were the cause of great anxiety; but it was a relief in the midst of his duties to be among Lancashire people, because among them he always found friends and true Conservatives. The great dependency, over the destinies of which he presided, was closely connected with that portion of Lancashire and their trade. The thing he had always tried to do was to develop the resources of the country by extending the railway system, and doing everything he could to promote trade and commerce between that country and this. They had been troubled for some time with threats of famine and serious distress, but so much had been done in the last few years in the way of extending the railway system and irrigation in India, that he was thankful to say that they had alleviated the distress and prevented the famine which otherwise most certainly would have taken place.

Lord Cross at Crewe, April 23, 1892.

Lord Cross addressed a public meeting at Crewe on Saturday night in the Town Hall, in connection with the Conference of the National Union of Conservative Associations. Mr H. W. Chadderton presided, and there was a good attendance. Lord Cross referred first to the dissolution. He said: The chairman had made some reference to India, and said something about the member for Crewe being in favour of Home Rule for India. Well, the first lesson one must learn about our Indian empire was, that there was no such place as India. The large tract of country which formed our Indian empire was inhabited by

people of different races, of different castes, of different creeds. There was more difference between them than between the various peoples of Europe. And for a man to talk of India as a country that could be dealt with in the same way as Ireland, showed how little he really knew of the circumstances. He was sorry to say that there had been serious distress, if not actual famine, in some districts in India, in consequence of the shortness of rain. The extension of the railway system, and the formation of great works of irrigation in different parts of the country, had greatly lessened the suffering on the present occasion. Much had been done to facilitate transport, but not half enough yet. He would like to say a word on behalf of Lord Wenlock, the Governor of Madras, because the speeches which had been made against him showed a shameful ignorance of the whole question. Lord Wenlock had done something marvellous for his district. He had thoroughly examined the country for himself, giving up his pleasures, interests, and even his health, to throw himself into the work. The foresight he had shown ought to redound for ever to his credit. The Government was doing everything that was possible to improve the trade between this country and India. The state of India had greatly improved in the last twenty years. Poor as the ryots were, their condition was infinitely better than it was. Their food was better, poor as it still was, and their clothing was better, little as they wore. The watchword of the Government, with regard to India, was security from attack abroad—absolute justice to all classes, creeds, and races at home.

Late Telegrams,

showing the necessity for the speedy prosecution of railways for the pacification and civilisation of the border tribes. These telegrams must be acknowledged as mostly from the 'Times,' but it should be mentioned that Indian news has often a prior place in the 'Scotsman.'

From the 'Times.'

Calcutta, *April* 14.

Several attacks by the Lushais on the convoys of wood-cutting parties are reported to have been made during the last few

days, but it is expected that these will now cease, as Mr M'Cabe has assumed the offensive, and has probably reached the Poibois village by this time.

Three hundred men of the 4th Bengal Infantry are proceeding from Fyzabad to Cachar to protect the tea-gardens, and prevent any possibility of further raids. If the Poibois awaited Mr M'Cabe's arrival, we may shortly expect news that a decisive blow has been struck; but if they retreated into the jungles, it will be the work of some time to follow them and stamp out the rising. The most satisfactory news, so far, is that the friendly chief Lenkhunga has intercepted and sent back nine of the captives who were taken at Booroocherra.

Last week's showers have apparently made little change in the situation in Madras. The mortality among cattle is increasing in Bellaray, Anantapur, and North Arcot, but prices generally remain steady.

THE LUSHAI RISING.

CALCUTTA, *April* 21.

The present position in Lushailand may be summarised thus: In the northern part, adjoining Cachar, troops hold the forts of Aijal and Changsil, Mr M'Cabe, with military police, having proceeded eastwards to punish villages involved in the rising. Stray parties of Lushais have worked back across the frontier with an intention of raiding the tea-gardens. One raid was successful; but a second, against the Monier Khal garden, failed, owing to the presence of a guard of sepoys. The frontier shortly will be rendered secure by guards at every garden and a system of patrols.

Further south the rising is pretty general. Captain Shakespear, advancing from Lungleh, was obliged to stockade himself at Vansanga's village, which he now holds. Between his stockade and Lungleh the Lushais are numerous enough to attack convoys and to harass the parties keeping the line of communications. They have also cut the telegraph between Demagiri and Lungleh. Demagiri will be reinforced within the next few days by 100 sepoys of the 3d Bengal Infantry sent from Calcutta. Assistance is also being sent from Fort White, on the Burmah side, and combined operations will be under-

taken when the rains have commenced on the Lushai hills, and the tribesmen must begin cultivating their clearings forthwith.

BURMAH.

RANGOON, *April* 21.

Colonel Home, Inspector-General of Irrigation, has reported to the Government of India the results of his special tour in Burmah. He gives the strongest support to all the proposals put forward during the past year by Sir A. Mackenzie. He is satisfied that irrigation works in the dry zone are not only urgently needed, but that the water will be eagerly taken and intelligently used. The minor works will yield large profits, and the outlay will be speedily recouped in direct revenue. The major works are all promising, and are likely to justify their construction from the loan funds. The works are required to stop emigration, and to admit a suitable settlement of the land revenue. Colonel Home urges an early formation of the irrigation circle asked for by the local government, and hitherto refused by the Indian authorities.

Great hopes are entertained that Sir Charles Crosthwaite will see that justice is done to Burmah, and will convince the Financial Department that it will be sound policy to borrow specially for both railways and irrigation in Burmah.

THE LUSHAI RISING.

CALCUTTA, *April* 24.

News from Lushailand makes it more than ever clear that the rising is on an extensive scale, involving nearly all the tribes. The remarkable feature about it is, that the enemy for the first time has developed tactics, doubling behind our posts to raid the frontier; but the system of patrols ought to prevent further attacks on the tea-gardens, while it may be hoped that as soon as Mr M'Cabe has cleared Bungteya and other rebel villages, he will be able to join hands with Captain Shakespear, and prevent detached parties from approaching the frontier.

The following is a summary of Mr M'Cabe's report on the capture of the Poiboi village, which report has been placed at my disposal:—

"We left Aijal on the 10th, the force under the command of

Captain Loch consisting of 225 frontier police, with Lieutenants Tytler, Roddy, and Johnson, 75 sepoys of the 18th Bengal Infantry, with Lieutenant Edwards and 240 baggage coolies, and three days' supplies. On the evening of the 10th the enemy attacked from an ambuscade, but were turned out by our flanking parties. By sending a party in the direction of Bungteya, we led the enemy to believe that that village was our object, so we were able to advance close to Poiboi without further opposition. We attacked Poiboi before dawn on the 14th. The enemy opened fire from two stockades, one of which entirely commanded the road and the other enfiladed our left flank. The defence was determined, but our men rushed the main stockade, and some well-directed volleys silenced the fire from the other. One sepoy was killed. The enemy suffered much, and made a hasty retreat, burning the small village of Lalhrima and a portion of Poiboi."

Mr M'Cabe further reports that parties have been sent out on all sides to hunt down the enemy. He proposed to proceed to-day to Bungteya.

CALCUTTA, *April* 24.

Despatches from Lalhai state that the Rajah and twenty-six followers have surrendered to Mr M'Cabe at the Poiboi camp.

Fighting is still going on around Poiboi. Mr M'Cabe returns to Lalbura on Tuesday next. He reports that he has destroyed Lalhai and Lalhrima as well as Poiboi.

BURMAH.

RANGOON, *April* 24.

In the fight at Tinggram between the Leka column and the Kachyens, Kalingwa, the Tsawbwa of Leka, was killed. The Katha and Leka columns have met, and the latter returns to Thayetta on May 5.

It has been definitely decided to make Myitkina the headquarters of the Mogaung military police battalion.

General Stewart is unable to go to Haka from Fort White owing to a slight accident, and he is returning to Rangoon by river. All the military have now returned to Bhamo from the various expeditions amongst the Kachyens.

There has been a large increase of dacoity lately in the Ruby mines district. The military police are apparently not working well there, and Captain MacMullen, Deputy Inspector-General, leaves Rangoon in a few days to conduct the operations.

Dr Griesbach, of the Geological Survey of India, who has returned to Rangoon from a tour of exploration to the north of Bhamo, reports that near Myitkina, in a district absolutely uninhabited, he has discovered most remarkable alluvial gold deposits, stretching for a great distance up the course of streams, and no less than 15 miles in width. A ton of alluvial deposit produced 25 grains of gold. Lead also has been found in abundance.

THE LUSHAI RISING.

CALCUTTA, *May* 15.

The recent Lushai raids on the Boorooncherra and Monicakhal tea-gardens have moved the Bengal Chamber of Commerce[1] to address the Assam Government regarding the unprotected state of the Cachar frontier. The Chamber pointed out that, under existing arrangements, when a rising occurs it is necessary to send troops from Calcutta, and till they arrive the frontier is almost defenceless. They express the opinion that it will be many years before the Lushais give up the habit of raiding and become peaceful cultivators, and they strongly urge the necessity of maintaining a chain of posts along the border, with a sufficient force of troops or military police. They remind the Chief Commissioner that this has been a subject of controversy between the tea-planters and the Assam Administration for eight years past, and they hope that it will now receive earnest consideration.

The adoption of the Chamber's suggestion would certainly be an improvement on the old state of affairs, but the only effectual way of removing all danger of Lushai raids lies in the complete subjugation and disarmament of the tribes.

RANGOON, *May* 15.

The Burmah column has arrived at Lungleh. The combined

[1] Had the Calcutta mercantile community for selfish ends not opposed the proposals for the Assam-Chittagong Railway, all these raids and disturbances might have been put a stop to years ago. They must now see their mistaken policy.

forces have destroyed several important villages and large supplies of grain.[1] There have been a few skirmishes with the enemy, in which the Lushais lost six killed and many wounded, our loss being *nil.* Several headmen have been arrested. The health of the troops is good, but the men and the transport animals of the Burmah column are much exhausted by a most trying march. One hundred and thirty-one mules are dead, and many are useless. The weather has been very bad. The march will be continued to Demagiri on the 18th.

BURMAH.

RANGOON, *May* 15.

The military police, who were hotly pursuing the Tsawbwa of Wuntho, have now returned to headquarters, the Tsawbwa having fled across the Chinese frontier, and his following having dispersed. The State of Wuntho is now so peaceable, and the rebels have had such a severe lesson, that the local government intends offering a free pardon to all, including the Tsawbwa himself, except actual murderers, who surrender with their arms within a few months.

The new quinquennial contract for Lower Burmah between the imperial and local governments has been completed. Under it the adjusting balance for Lower Burmah is fixed at 41½ lakhs, against 37½ originally proposed by the Government of India and 47 asked by the local government. The point most strongly urged by Sir A. Mackenzie in discussion was the necessity for more public works in the province, in most districts of which the people get nothing for the taxes but law courts and police, and in which good communications and reclamation of land are much needed. The Mergui district particularly,[2] which sadly needs opening out to develop its tin and other mineral resources, would in itself absorb a large sum. Whereas the Government of India calculated that 19 lakhs would be sufficient for civil works, the local government pointed out that if the few large works now being carried on were completed, this sum would be quite exhausted, and asked for 25 lakhs. The Government of India proposed five lakhs for minor works,

[1] Heigh-ho! more conciliating policy!

[2] What of Arakan? still left out in the cold!

and the local government asked for eight and a half. Many of the most urgent of these schemes, — such as the Gyaing Attaran reclamation project for extending paddy cultivation in Tenasserim, thus giving an impetus to the declining trade of Moulmein; the schemes for embankments in Thangwa, Bassein, and elsewhere; and the irrigation projects in Tharrawaddy and Prome, similar to the schemes which have paid handsomely elsewhere in the province,—would alone cost many lakhs. It was urged that, if the opium question were dealt with in Burmah, the serious loss to the revenue should be met by readjustment of the excise item of the contract. The Government of India has definitely refused to do this.

It is a pity that in the contract India has not treated this province with more liberality. Hitherto the annual surplus of 160 to 180 lakhs from Lower Burmah has gone to the imperial revenue. With such a handsome surplus from the lower province, it is hoped that the Government of India will not hesitate to provide Upper Burmah with a fully equipped staff and ample funds to push on the irrigation works which are so urgently needed.

It has been decided to extend the Mu Valley Railway to Myitkina.

The Chin-Lushai Operations.

Rangoon, *May* 22.

General Stewart, commanding in Burmah, has been requested by Lord Roberts to convey congratulations to Captain Rose of the 3d Goorkhas, and the men of the Burmah Column, on their successful march from Fort White to Daokhama to relieve Captain Shakespear. "From my knowledge of the country," he says, "I can appreciate the difficulties that had to be overcome and the hardships to be undergone at this season of the year."

In commemoration of the brilliant defence of Sadon by Lieutenant Harrison, that post has been re-named Fort Harrison.

Calcutta, *May* 22.

News from Lushailand seems to indicate the complete collapse of the rising, all the important chiefs having either been

captured or surrendered. Mr M'Cabe, to whose dash and energy this result is mainly due, will now proceed to disarm the tribesmen, and it is understood that they will be forbidden to manufacture gunpowder.

BURMAH.

RANGOON, *May* 22.

The Chinese have made certain proposals, which will obviate the necessity of the Burmo-Chinese Delimitation Commission going over much of the southern frontier of Yunnan, and it is believed that part of these proposals have been accepted.

Mr Fryer arrived from India to-day, and will immediately take over the duties of Chief Commissioner from Mr Smeaton, the Financial Commissioner, who has been carrying on the dual offices.

It is probable that the survey of the Shan hills for the railway from Mandalay to Kun-Lön Ferry will be undertaken next cold season, and that Mr Bagley, the engineer who examined the route two years ago, will be in charge. It is also probable that the survey for the line from Burmah to India over the Arakan hills will be made.

The outlook in Upper Burmah continues to grow brighter. Sagaing has been removed from the list of districts needing relief, and Magwe and Minbu will soon be in the same position. The Government of India have given a special grant of three and a half lakhs for relief works in the scarcity tracts.

LETTER to Captain JAMES EWERT, for many years Commander of a British India Company's Steamer in the Bay of Bengal.

5th May 1892.

You may remember I always had an opinion Akyab should be a great port for the trade of Eastern Bengal in preference to Chittagong, and also for trade from Upper Burmah and China. . . . Now I know no man who could give so much information or a more correct opinion of the two ports than yourself, having entered them so often. I would therefore be obliged if you would at your leisure write me a letter describing

Chittagong and Akyab, their advantages and disadvantages, and all the particulars you can give regarding them. Government have lately brought out a railway to be made from Assam *vid* Cachar to Chittagong, that port to be the terminus for the trade. I maintain the line must be continued to Akyab, as the better and more commodious for a large trade. I send under a separate cover a copy of the prospectus of the railway.

Reply.

LIVERPOOL, 14*th May* 1892.

Thank you much for the prospectus, which I return, and regret my capital is so arranged and fixed that I cannot enter otherwise. There is, no doubt, a grand opening for those who follow us. As to my experience of the eastern borders of the Bay of Bengal, and the approaches, &c., of the two ports, Chittagong and Akyab, I am satisfied that not another man could have had a better up to the year 1874, when I left, as I had qualified myself as a full-draught pilot under Government for the Hooghly, the Mutlah, and Kurnafullah, holding my certificates for them; and as a mariner, holding an extra master's certificate and passed in steam, I commanded the mail-steamer from 1st May 1867 to 4th August 1874, when, through ill health, I had to go to Europe. Through these seven years I studied the coast very carefully—its soundings, currents, &c. —going from Chittagong to Akyab, Kyouk Phyoo, and Sandoway, and same ports back again, once a fortnight, in the capacity of captain and pilot for all ports; and my experience is that while Akyab always is an easy port to make, and especially for steamers an easy harbour to enter in all weathers and at all states of tide and times of night or day, Chittagong is, to my mind, especially for a foreign-going captain, a dangerous port to make, the currents being irregular, soundings being very confusing to one who did not study them closely, and a ship might easily get into trouble before a chance of obtaining a pilot; and then the tide in the river is a drawback, rise and fall being so much greater than at Akyab; and, finally, the port itself would not allow two large steamers to swing abreast of the piers. There is also a heavy ground-swell

off Chittagong bar, which would snap a cable sometimes if you ventured to anchor while waiting for the tide, and at night you would not think of crossing the bar, while at Akyab I have gone in and out during all hours of the night, and during heavy rains and fogs. I cannot see how there can ever be a doubt that Akyab is the only right harbour for the eastern part of the Bay. There is one thing more I may mention, that during the seven years, all weathers, I never once hesitated to run direct east by north for the table-land of the Borongo; be it ever so thick I could always see the beach *in time and to spare* to alter my course for the entrance to the harbour. Trusting the above may be of some service,—I am, yours respectfully,

J. EWERT.

LETTER to the UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

No. 17. *5th Jan.* 1892.

SIR,—In the report of the Administration of Burmah during 1889-90, pages 12 and 13, the following sentences are found:

Operations by Lieut. Rainey.

"The rest of the season was occupied in . . . and in ascertaining the exact locality of a track known as the 'Sawbwas' road, leading from Arakan to the Irrawaddy."

Meeting of officers in the Yoma Hills.

"In order to secure the submission of the Chin tribes inhabiting the country between the Minbu district and the districts of Akyab and Kyouk Phyoo in Arakan, arrangements were made for a meeting between local officers from these places at Yanan, a village in the hills. The meeting-place was reached in February."

Further, in Lieutenant Walker's report on the route from Nape (Minbu district) to Akyab *vid* the Aeng Pass, and on the Sawbwas route from the Lemwe to Laungshe, Lieutenant Rainey's report is referred to more than once as having been acted on in guiding Lieutenant Walker's explorations; and as to the meeting of officers above referred to, he says: "I may mention that this is the Lower Yanan route, a route partially traversed in 1890 by Major Creswell, Deputy Commissioner,

Akyab, when the expeditions from Akyab, Minbu, and Kyouk Phyóo met at Yanan to hold a durbar."

A reference to my letters of 30th March 1889, 29th July 1889, and No. 5 of 25th March 1890, especially the latter, as also Sir John E. Gorst's letter P.W. 1446 of 16th August 1889, to which the latter is a reply, will show you how much interested I am in these matters; and I beg to ask to be favoured with copies of Lieutenant Rainey's report of his expedition in 1889-90, and of the separate reports of the officers who assembled at the durbar at Yanan in February 1890.

In view of the conference which, according to a Rangoon telegram in this morning's 'Times,' is to be held in Calcutta this month, I would ask for a reply at your earliest convenience.—I am, &c.

Reply.

R. and L. 91.

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S.W.,
19*th Jan.* 1892.

SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 17, dated the 5th instant, and in reply to inform you that no copies of the reports referred to therein have been received at this Office.—I am sir, your obedient servant,

F. C. DANVERS,
Registrar and Superintendent of Records.

J. OGILVY HAY, Esq.

THIRD CAMPAIGN

FOR

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ARAKAN

IN FUTURUM!

THIRD CAMPAIGN.

THE FINALE.

THE question is, Are the Secretary of State for India and the Government of India *in earnest* in their desire to carry out the POLICY EXPRESSED to have the railways of India constructed by *private enterprise?* and are they prepared to meet the public, and "ENCOURAGE PRIVATE ENTERPRISE BY ALL LEGITIMATE MEANS," and on "EQUABLE TERMS"?

Government will not surely now deny the friends of Arakan the privilege of making use of its own resources and capabilities for its development, seeing sixty-six years have elapsed without their having been brought to any profit, either for the Government or the country? Arakan is the highway between India and Burmah, and thence on to China, and railway construction through it will accomplish the following four objects at least:—

1. Connection between India and our most easterly province, Burmah.

2. Means to facilitate migration of the teeming population of Bengal to the rich but waste lands of Arakan and Burmah.

3. The development of the port of Akyab as a great emporium for the inlet and outlet of the trade of Eastern Bengal and Burmah-China, which in time must be enormous.

4. The establishment of a great naval station for the protection of all our Eastern possessions bordering on and connected by railways with the Bay of Bengal.

"LET ARAKAN FLOURISH!"

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on 15 October, 2018